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EARLY ADOLESCENTS' RECOLLECTIONS OF THEIR
PRESCHOOL DAY CARE EXPERIENCES

by

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ABSTRACT

This study described and analyzed the recollections reported in a semi-structured interview by 60 early adolescent youth, aged 11.5 to 14.5 years (mean age = 13.1, median age = 13.4), of their preschool day care experiences. This study formed a portion of the *Victoria Day Care Research Project Follow-up Study* (Pence & Goelman, 1991). The participants had originally attended 3 different types of day care: center day care, licensed family day care, and unlicensed family day care. The focus was on the adolescents' world view, utilizing a retrospective account to examine what it was that they took away from this day care experience (the "target" day care).

The results indicated that 73% of the sample remembered the "target" day care, 13% had limited memories, and 13% did not recall the original "target" day care. The three groups varied significantly in terms of type of day care and age. The mean age of those not remembering was a full year younger than the mean age of the group remembering the "target" day care. A higher percentage of the center day care group remembered the day care experience under investigation. The mean age of the center day care group was also significantly older than the mean age of the other two groups.

Thematic analysis of the responses of those participants remembering the "target" day care ($n = 51$) described 4 categories embodied in the recollections: environment, activities, relationships and emotions. These

themes were analyzed to determine if there was a relationship between the themes and the variables of gender and type of original day care situation. Significant relationships included: fewer centre day care participants reported references to the care provider; more participants from unlicensed family day care reported references to peers; fewer participants from unlicensed family day care made references to the activities or the environment categories; more females reported more recollections in the relationship category than did males; emotions were reported by the fewest individuals and talked about the least; negative emotions were more often reported than positive emotions by participants of both genders and across all 3 day care types.

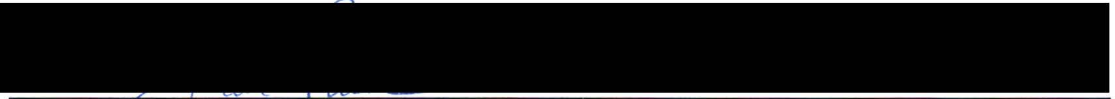
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract		ii
Table of Contents		v
List of Tables		vii
Acknowledgments		ix
I. INTRODUCTION		1
Contributions of the Study		4
II. LITERATURE REVIEW		6
Ecological Perspective		6
Day Care		9
Memory		16
Types of Memories		20
Research Directions		20
Schematic View of Memory		21
Children's Memory		24
Imagery and Memory		29
Interviewing and the Ecological Perspective		29
Summary and Implications for the Present Study		30
III. METHOD		32
Background Information to the Present Study		32
Measures Used in the Follow-Up Study		34
Present Study		35
Participants in the Follow-Up Study		37
Procedures		38
Data Analysis		46
IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION		49
The Participants		49

Content of Recollections	57
Relationships	59
Environment	63
Activities	65
Emotions	68
Analysis of the Content Themes.....	71
Summary	76
V. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.....	81
Limitations of the Study	86
Implications for Further Research	87
VI. REFERENCES	90
VII. APPENDICES	103
Appendix A: Group Activity Script	103
Appendix B: Interview Script	108
Appendix C: Interview	110
Appendix D: Categories of Recollections	113

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Number and Percentages of Participants in the Present Study by Gender and Type of Day Care	39
Table 2: Number and Percentages of Participants from the VDCRP study and in the Present Study by Gender and Type of Day Care	41
Table 3: Number and Percentages of Male and Female Participants and the Amount Recollected of the "Target" Day Care	51
Table 4: Age of Participants at the Time of Day Care and the Amount Recollected of the "Target" Day Care	52
Table 5: Number and Percentages of Participants in Three Types of Day Care and the Amount Remembered of the "Target" Day Care	54
Table 6: Participants in the Present Study and Percentages of Total Group by Gender and Type of Day Care	58
Table 7: The Number and Percentages of Males and Females Reporting Recollections in Four Major Categories	72

Table 8: The Number and Percentage of Participants from the Three Types of Day Care Reporting Recollections in Four Major Categories74

Table 9: Number and Percentage of Total Male and Female Participants Reporting One or More Recollections in the Various Sub-categories75

Table 10: Number and Percentage of Participants in Three Day Care Types Reporting One or More Recollections in the Various Sub-categories77

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first important influence on children undoubtedly is the family; however, families and children are part of a wider interactional network of schools, the workplace, and day care services which are powerful factors in child development (Belsky, 1978; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Zigler, Taussig, & Black, 1990). As social, economic and cultural conditions throughout the world undergo dramatic changes, so do the lives of children growing up in our society.

Both by choice and by necessity, mothers of young children in industrialized countries have increased their participation in the workforce. Higher divorce rates, more single parent families, and the women's movement all have contributed to women's increased involvement in the work force. In 1988, seventy percent of mothers with children younger than six years of age were in the labour force, usually on a full time basis (Lero, Goelman, Pence, Brockman & Nuttall, 1992). Predictions of future employment trends estimate that, by the year 2000, close to 88% of women aged 25 to 34 will be in the labour force (Employment and Immigration, 1989). The Canadian National Child Care Study (NCCS) (Lero et al. , 1992) reported that 55% of families with children younger than six years of age require supplemental care for their children and that 42% of the families sampled required full time care for at least one child. As day care becomes an increasingly integral part of the lives of most Canadian families,

understanding the effects of these dramatic societal changes on the lives of children is a continuing concern to researchers, politicians, educators, and to the public at large.

To this end, there have been a number of North American and European studies concentrating on observations of children and the day care experience, and on measurements of personal characteristics of children, parents and care providers. Research suggests that childrens' relationships with their care providers, as well as their relationship with their parents, have important links to later social development (Golden, Rosenbluth, Grossi, Policare, Freeman, & Brownlees, 1979; Howes, 1990). We know a lot about the impact of early educational experiences and, specifically, day care experiences on childrens' knowledge and abilities at various ages, and on the concepts and tasks they have or have not acquired (Flavell, 1992). Flavell (1992) however, asserts that there is a significant gap between what we know objectively to be true about childrens' development, and what we know about ". . . what it is like to be them and what the world seems like to them, given what they have or have not achieved cognitively" (p. 1003).

Many authors believe that our attempts at understanding children have to begin with how children view the world in their own terms (Flavell, 1992; Van Manen, 1990), and that some ". . . aspects of the environment that are the most powerful in shaping the course of psychological growth are overwhelmingly those that have meaning to the person in a given situation" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 22). New directions in research involve an effort to

understand experience from the participants most directly involved in whatever experience or event is being studied, and to integrate these understandings with objective research (Bronfenbrenner, 1988; Flavell, 1992) .

To know what it is that children take with them from their early childhood experiences as they grow older necessitates a retrospective vantage point. Experimentalists have generally been unwilling to consider the validity of retrospective reports, and children especially have been considered to be unreliable sources of information (Garbarino & Stott, 1989). Most of the work on retrospective memory has concentrated on the recollection of childhood memories by adults, and it is not well known to what extent it is possible for adolescents to remember early childhood experiences.

There have been a few studies eliciting information about the current ideas and feelings experienced by preschool children about day care (Armstrong & Sugawara, 1989; Weinstein, 1983; Wolfgang & Philips, 1983), but there have been no studies to date which focus on the adolescent's recollections of earlier day care experiences. Some researchers hypothesize that it is the distance of recollection that brings perspective to an event, since it is only with retrospection that the importance or relevance of an event is perceived (Freeman, Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1986; Neisser, 1982). The view of day care from the varying developmental perspectives of the child and the adolescent has been a neglected area in the literature.

This research involved conducting interviews with early adolescent participants who participated in a variety of day care experiences during their

preschool years for the purpose of examining the retrospective view of their early day care environment. The memories under consideration in this study were personally experienced, highly meaningful events recollected after a very long interval. The major focus was what memories adolescents take away from their early day care experiences ten years later.

In this research the adolescents' recollections examined and analyzed by addressing the following questions:

1. What are the themes (types of people, actions, place) reported in the adolescents' recollections of outstanding experiences from their preschool caretaking experiences?
2. (a). Is there a relationship between the themes and the variable of age at the time of preschool attendance?
(b). Is there a relationship between the themes and the variable of gender ?
(c). Is there a relationship between the themes and the variable of type of day care environment experienced?

Contributions of the Study

An important reason to examine adolescents' recollections regarding day care experiences is to know if the adult vantage point in the day care literature is congruent with what children are remembering as being important and of interest to them.

A second reason to study the recollections of early adolescent youth is to add to the existing body of knowledge about the nature of memory. Because

of the descriptive and exploratory nature of this study, it is possible that new questions and new research directions across a range of clinical and theoretical areas may be generated from this study.

This research may be of particular interest to counsellors in that recollections have been conceptualized as a vehicle for the construction of the historical self (Bruhn, 1984; Freeman et al. , 1986). An important part of how we define who we are is a result of our conceptualization of the past, and of the stories that we tell about ourselves (Brewer, 1986; Miller, Mintz, Hoogstra, Fung & Potts, 1992; Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, & Mintz, 1990; Neisser, 1982). The narrative mode considers the construction of life stories that give meaning to life experiences. Many counsellors see their role as one of assisting clients to tell their life stories, to focus on their recollections of the past, and to reauthor and reconstrue their life stories. Examining how adolescents are naturally selecting and organizing their recollections of earlier life experiences provides a unique window on their world view.

Understanding the life view of children is of interest to all of us whose roles demand that we act responsibly and responsively in our relationships with children.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following review will place the present study within the context of the literature in the following ways. First, it will summarize the ecological perspective on development in relationship to day care research and then to memory research. Second, studies related specifically to children's long term and retrospective memory will be reviewed. Finally, the literature relating to imagery as a retrieval cue and to the interview as it affects the performance of individuals will be discussed briefly.

Ecological Perspective

The ecological perspective on human development is important to examine since it describes the theoretical stance taken by many contemporary researchers in the fields of memory, day care, and child development, and explicates the stance taken by this researcher and the larger Victoria Day Care Research Project Follow-up Study (VDCRP Follow-up) (Pence & Goelman, 1991) of which this thesis is a part.

Ecological theories emphasize the importance of an individual's interactions and development within social contexts. Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) has developed a widely adopted theoretical perspective for research in human development, conceptualized as a series of concentric circles, each more removed from the individual, who is situated in the innermost centre. The system is visualized as ". . . . a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls" (p. 3). Bronfenbrenner originally conceived

of this system as consisting of four levels: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem.

Microsystem

A microsystem is the pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relationships within which the individual develops and with which he or she is directly involved on a daily basis. The microsystem includes parents, siblings, caretakers, the neighbourhood, the peer group, schools and day care programs. Bronfenbrenner pointed out that much research has focused on individual aspects of the microsystem.

Mesosystem

The mesosystem refers to the relationships and linkages among microsystems. The mesosystem may, for example, include the relationship of the family experience to the day care experience, or the relationship of the family experiences to the peer experience.

Exosystem

The exosystem consists of systems which significantly affect the individual, but in which she or he has no direct participation. The parent's workplace, and the availability of convenient and affordable day care are examples of the exosystem.

Macrosystem

The macrosystem refers to general cultural and societal beliefs which reflect assumptions as to how things should be done, as well as the institutions representing these assumptions. Most macrosystems are implicit,

carried within the minds of individuals, but these beliefs form the basis by which families and individuals structure their lives. Examples of the macrosystem are the values a society places on rearing children, general societal beliefs regarding day care, or the acceptability of mothers of young children entering the work force.

These four levels are interactive, and a change in any one level influences every other system. Relationships and interconnections exist within each level and across system levels, and may be as decisive for development as are specific events. Researchers utilizing an ecological paradigm study the relationships between the individual and the multiple contexts of the social and physical environment within which human development occurs, and seek to clarify the ways in which an individual and the habitat shape each other's development. In fact, ". . . the central virtue of his (Bronfenbrenner's) point of view is its focus on the reciprocal relationships between systems, rather than on the properties and processes characteristic of any one system (Glossop, 1988, p.3). Human beings adapt to situations and settings, but they also modify, select, and restructure these environments; the child's developing capacities are viewed as an interactive process between the child and the social environment (Garbarino & Stott, 1989). Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner (1979) asserts that, ". . . what matters for behavior and development is the environment as it is *perceived* rather than as it might exist in "objective" reality" (p. 4).

Each system level is historically unique and is continuously subject to

change and transformation; it is therefore important to take all of the contexts into consideration, the larger contexts as well as the intermediate settings, and to define the complexity and the nature of the connections and relationships between events (Glossop, 1988; Peters & Kontos, 1987).

Day Care

Day care is one of the first environments, after the home environment, entered by substantial numbers of children, and therefore it is an important arena in which child development occurs. The Canadian National Child Care Study (CNCCS) (Lero, Pence, Brockman & Goelman, 1992) is an ongoing study providing accurate, detailed information on the manner in which Canadian families are utilizing day care services. One part of this study interviewed 24, 155 Canadian households about 42,131 children, and is referred to as the 1988 National Child Care Survey (NCCS). The use of standardized Statistics Canada procedures established this sample as representative of 97.9% of all Canadian children under the age of 13.

Information from the CNCCS (Lero, Goelman, Pence, Brockman & Nuttall, 1992) indicated that 49% of families with children between the ages of 3 and 5, and 46% of families with children younger than 3 years of age, were dual wage-earner families. Another third of the families were two parent families with a single wage earner, and the remaining families were single parent families, almost half of whom were employed. The majority of the dual-earner families (67%) worked full time, even in families with infants and toddlers. Sixty-five percent of the single parents with school age children

worked full time, although only 43% of single parents with one or more preschool children were employed, and 34% of single parents with a child younger than 3 years of age were employed.

In 1988, nearly 60% of mothers with children younger than 3 were in the labour force. The CNCCS noted that 60% of families with children younger than 13, 52% of families with children younger than 6, and 52% of families with a child younger than 2 required supplemental day care services for their children.

In examining the pattern of day care use by Canadian families the CNCCS (Goelman, Pence, Lero, Brockman, Glick & Berkowitz, 1993) found that 42.5% of children under 13 were cared for exclusively by parents, and the remaining 57.5% were in at least one non-parental care arrangement. Only 39.2% of infants were in the exclusive care of a parent. Sixty percent of infants spent at least one hour in supplemental child care, and 55% of infants were in non-parental care for an average of 25.4 hours per week. Seventy percent of toddlers (aged 18 to 35 months) were in supplemental care for an average of 29.7 hours per week. Eighty-three percent of preschoolers (aged 3 to 5 years) were in supplemental care. The preschool children were associated with the highest proportion of multiple care arrangements (27.3% were in 3 or more arrangements) of any age group under 13. The authors attribute this fact to the high enrollment of this age group in preschool programs, which generally operate only part of the day, and require additional care for the balance of the day.

In 1979, Bronfenbrenner noted that, at that time, little information was known about the ". . . . complex of activities, roles and relations" (p. 132) characterizing the day care environment, and how these varied from the home environment. The lack of research in this area was labelled by Bronfenbrenner (1979) as the "empty setting" (p. 164). In the late 1970s and 1980s a shift took place as a result of Bronfenbrenner's work, which had introduced a theoretical framework viable for examining the interrelated complexity of intersecting factors, and directed attention to the variety of interactions in the micro, meso, exo, and macrosystems of a child's environment.

Traditional studies of the effects of day care tended to focus on children's performance on skill or ability measures such as cognitive and language measures. Initial research focused on the mother-child relationship, and came from an assumption that child care other than that of the mother was, at the very least, "second best", and at worst, detrimental to the child's development.

Recent literature appears to agree that it is not child care that constitutes a risk factor for children, but that it is the combination of poor quality care and poor family environments producing poor developmental outcomes (Goelman & Pence, 1987a, 1987b, 1988; Scarr, Phillips & McCartney, 1989).

Day care programs with a high assessment of quality are associated with children who have greater social competency (Howes, 1990), higher levels of

language development (Goelman & Pence, 1988; Pence & Goelman, 1986, 1987a, 1987b), higher developmental levels of play (Howes, 1990), better ability to regulate behaviours (Howes, 1990), greater compliance with adults, and fewer behaviour problems in elementary school (Howes, 1990).

Quality of child care is typically defined by either structural or process variables (Goelman & Pence, 1987a). Examples of structural variables are adult/child ratios, group size, and teacher training. Structural variables influence process variables such as appropriate care giving and developmentally appropriate materials, which in turn affect the child-care provider and child-peer relationships (Howes, Phillips & Whitebook, 1992).

Factors which are considered to contribute to quality day care situations are small child-care provider ratio, small group size, parental involvement, physical space and facilities, care provider training and stability (turnover). These factors appear to facilitate sensitive relationships and interactions among caretakers and children, which, in turn, promote positive social and emotional development (Scarr et al. , 1989). Many researchers conclude that one of the most important determinants of quality day care relates to the nature of the interactions among care providers and children (Howes, 1990).

Longitudinal studies of several early childhood intervention programs are documenting some positive long term and lasting effects of high quality preschool programs. One such study has been the Perry Preschool Project of Ypsilanti, Michigan (Berrueta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, Epstein, & Weikart, 1984). This research studied 123 black children, aged 3 and 4 years

old, from families of low socio-economic status, who were identified as being at risk for school failure.

The children were matched for demographic variables and then divided into two groups. One group received one to two years of a quality preschool program. These children attended preschool from October to May for two and a half hours each day. Teachers made home visits for one and a half hours each week throughout the year. In addition, parents attended monthly group support meetings focused on providing opportunities to exchange information and viewpoints on child rearing. In all areas, the emphasis was on preparation of the child for those areas deemed essential for school success, such as: cognitive development, language development, development and broadening of an information and experience base, and the social and behavioural skills needed for positive school adjustment. The control group received no preschool program.

Follow-up data on the participants at age nineteen showed a variety of positive outcomes. In comparison with the control group, those attending the preschool program demonstrated better attitudes toward school, performed better on cognitive measures during early childhood, performed better on measures of academic achievement throughout their school years, and had fewer grade failures. The percentage of years spent in special education programs was just over half that for the control group. These children had better high school graduation rates compared to the control group (67% vs 49%), higher participation in post secondary institutions

(38% vs 21%) and higher employment rates (59% vs 32%). In addition, the researchers reported less use of welfare assistance, higher literacy scores, fewer criminal charges (31% vs 51%), and a lower rate of teenage pregnancy (68 per 100 for the preschool group, and 117 per 100 for the control group).

The authors interpreted these dramatic findings in the following manner. They suggested that the Perry preschool resulted in greater school readiness before school entrance, which in turn resulted in more positive teacher attitudes. A snowball effect then influenced more positive adult-child interactions, stronger school commitment, better adaptations to school expectations, family support of educational expectations, and more of an overall positive cycle of expectation and achievement.

In the wide range of day care alternatives, two common types of environments have been investigated by several researchers: centre day care, and family day care (Goelman, 1988; Goelman & Pence, 1987b, 1988; Pence & Goelman, 1987a, 1987b). While the numbers of working mothers have increased dramatically in the last twenty years, there has not been a parallel increase in the availability of licensed day care facilities. Most recent estimates suggest the licensed day care facilities currently are able to support only 15% of the preschool children whose mothers work full time (Goelman & Pence, 1985).

Centre day care generally serves groups of 15 or more children, and often sub-divides the children by age or special need. British Columbia has an established set of regulations for centre day care staff, requiring a minimum of

9 months training in early childhood education.

Family day care refers to an individual caring for a small group of children in her home, usually for some form of payment (Cohen, 1992). Data from the Canadian National Child Care Study indicate that family day care outside the child's home is the third most common form of care, next to parental care and school attendance (Pence, Goelman, Lero & Brockman, 1992). This type of child care is subject to the fewest regulations and supervision. Broadly speaking, there are two types of family home care, licensed and unlicensed. Care providers in licensed family day care homes do not require formal training, but must possess a business license, and attend government sponsored orientation sessions prior to the provision of care. A second category of "approved" homes do not require licensing, but are able to care for two children, in addition to their own, and may apply for government subsidies (Pence & Goelman, 1987b).

Cohen (1992) lists some of the benefits of this kind of care as affordability, flexibility in terms of hours, caring for sick children, an informal home environment allowing the formation of close familial-like bonds, and a small number of children being cared for.

Despite the wealth of research on the effects of day care, direct interviewing of the child as to his or her perceptions of the day care arrangements is rare. The majority of studies addressing the child's perspective rely on observational data, usually by an adult. Several studies do, however, document the preferences preschoolers have for their present

day care arrangements (Armstrong & Sugawara, 1989), for their school environment (Weinstein, 1983), and for play materials and toys within the day care environment (Wolfgang & Philips, 1983).

Armstrong and Sugawara (1989) utilized miniature toys and figures replicating a day care centre to obtain information on the perceptions held by 58 preschoolers (mean female age = 4.26 years; mean male age = 4.23 years) of their experiences in licensed day care settings. The findings pointed out that 88% of the children reported positive feelings about day care in comparison to the 7% who expressed negative feelings. In regard to activities and teachers, the preschoolers preferred play activities over any other activity. They disliked aggressive acts by children and naps. The teacher qualities most liked were the care giving qualities, and the qualities most disliked were the teacher's restrictions on the childrens' behaviours.

In a survey of the literature, no studies addressing the older child's retrospective view of earlier day care experiences were found.

Memory

Memory research was important to this study because of the retrospective viewpoint utilized. Memory is one of the most basic functions of the human organism, involved in everything an individual does. Neisser (1982) distinguished between two important traditions in memory research; the laboratory and the ecological tradition. Differences between these two lines of research reflect fundamental differences in underlying metaphors of memory. The distinction between the two approaches lies in whether

memory is viewed as an entity separate from other mental processes, or as an integral part of the total functioning of an organism and its environment.

Although the present research is situated within the second tradition, it does draw on memory functions that have been studied in the laboratory. Thus, a brief overview of both schools of thought will be useful at the outset.

The laboratory tradition of memory research dates back to Hermann Ebbinghaus, who, in 1879, designed systematic experiments to study his own memory. He memorized lists of nonsense syllables, measuring how long it took him to memorize the list, and how long it took him to forget it. This method was viewed as a means of simplifying the information, and of limiting the role of previous experience in order to study the specific phenomenon of memory.

Researchers in this tradition have always accepted the metaphor of storage as applying to memory, along with the idea that memories are faithful and enduring representations of original experience.

We preserve images on wax, we carve them in stone; we write memories as with a pencil on paper; we file memories away; we have photographic memories; we retain facts so firmly they seem held in a steel trap. Each of these images proposes a memory warehouse where the past lies preserved like childhood souvenirs in an attic (Bolles, 1988, xi).

Traditional laboratory research presents material to individuals under controlled conditions and then requires recall or recognition after specific cues

and a clearly defined interval of time has elapsed. Until fifteen or twenty years ago, most memory research utilized decontextualized activities such as list learning of numbers, words, pictures, or nonsense syllables, and investigated the individual's ability to monitor his or her success at remembering, organizing material for remembering, and his or her ability to use deliberate memory skills (Neisser & Winograd, 1988; Rubin, 1986; Tulving, 1989).

A second line of research rejects the copy or reproductive view in favour of a reconstructive view (Bartlett, 1932; Neisser, 1982; Neisser & Winograd, 1988). This tradition has extended back to Galton's work in Britain and to William James' work in the United States. Bartlett (1932) was a major figure in this line of research. Instead of testing for memories of nonsense syllables, Bartlett designed a series of experiments to study the retention of meaningful story materials. In one study, for example, Bartlett examined how participants recollected an unusual Indian folk tale on several occasions over a period of several months.

Bartlett (1932) found that, in the thousands of recollections he collected, literal recall was rare, and that his subjects remembered meanings rather than literal details. Bartlett found that, in his experiments, an individual did not remember the exact details of a situation.

In all ordinary instances he has an overmastering tendency to get a general impression of the whole: and, on the basis of this, he constructs the probable detail. Very little of his construction is literally observed

and often, as was demonstrated experimentally, a lot of it is distorted or wrong so far as the actual facts are concerned (p. 206).

Furthermore, Bartlett's subjects were unaware of the extent of the omissions, condensations, and transformations in their recollections. It appeared as though facts were being distorted in an effort to fit new information into a form compatible with the participants' cultural and general knowledge, as well as into their understanding of social conventions. These results led Bartlett to formulate a "schema and correction" model, which suggested that we form schemata, or concepts about the world based on our past experience. These schemata are not actual images or photographic traces of the world. New information is actively integrated into existing structures, and when new material conflicts with existing schemata, as in the case of the unusual Indian folk tale mentioned above, recollection is distorted.

The metaphor of memory in this tradition is that of an active, evolving process, dependent on the interaction between the individual and the context. Traditional memory theories see memory as an intra-individual process; whereas Bartlett (1932) was one of the first writers to suggest that memory is an interpersonal process.

Types of Memories

Since this research concentrates on a particular type of memory, that is, highly meaningful, personal recollections of past experiences, brief distinctions among the various types of memory detailed in the literature are

useful to consider. Tulving (1989) proposed three types of memories: procedural, semantic and episodic. Procedural memories are those that represent information employed in relatively automatic behaviours. Semantic memory is the organized information an individual possesses about words, meanings, concepts, symbols, etc. Episodic information refers to situations in which a person "remembers" an event or an episode. Episodic memory differs from semantic memory in that it is context bound and refers to specific times and places. In the literature, the term "autobiographical memory" is often used interchangeably with episodic memory. Autobiographical memory has been described as a basic and fundamental component of the human personality, consisting of specific, long lasting memories which form a story of one's personal past (Conway, 1990).

Research Directions

Tillman (1992) outlined five research perspectives addressing the topic of autobiographical memory.

1. The study of flashbulb memory investigates vivid memories of dramatic or cultural significance (Brown & Kulik, 1977; Sheingold & Tenney, 1982).
2. The exploration of earliest memories, usually with an intent of utilizing the information as a therapeutic tool (Bruhn, 1984; Dudycha & Dudycha, 1933a, 1933b, 1941; Gold & Neisser, 1980).
3. The study of life span reminiscences (Fitzgerald, 1988).
4. The study of eyewitness testimony (Goodman et al. , 1990).
5. The study of the development of scripts and schemata in adults and

children (Fivush, Hudson, & Nelson, 1984; Hudson & Nelson, 1983, 1986; Nelson et al. , 1983; Mandler, 1984, 1990).

Schematic View of Memory

One memory theory building on Bartlett's (1933) work has been formulated by Nelson and her colleagues (Fivush, 1984, 1991; Nelson, 1978, 1986, 1990, 1993; Nelson et al. , 1983). In this view, the survival value of memory lies in the flexibility it provides for adaptation to the future. Memory targets information for storage that allows us to increase and maintain adaptability to our environments. What happened in the past is used as the basis for predicting the future, and so individuals are attuned to those aspects that give the world predictability.

For this purpose the most useful type of evidence comes from events that are frequently repeated, and thus are the most useful (and banal) type of memory is that for familiar routine events, the type of generalized event memory realized as scripts . . . Obviously an event that is experienced once and never again is of little use in guiding action and predicting the future (Nelson, 1990, p. 308).

In this view general knowledge and specific event memory are two forms of event representation intimately linked in the memory system. Autobiographical memories are organized by their relationship to generalized event representations, rather than by temporal and spatial information, as is proposed by researchers working within the laboratory tradition (Tulving,

1972). Generalized event representations influence the encoding, storage, and retrieval of autobiographical memories. Memory for a specific episode is hypothesized to become part of a generalized event representation when a new experience occurs and it becomes necessary to establish a new schema. At first, this representation is like an episodic memory, but with continued repetition it becomes more and more script-like. The process moves from episodic memory to semantic memory, and, in the end, all that is remembered about what happened is what must have happened given general knowledge about the event (Nelson, 1986). Routine episodes which do not deviate from the expected sequence, or do not contain any new information, are forgotten and absorbed by the generalized event representation. The episodic system is theorized to be a holding pattern rather than a permanent memory system, and reinstatement is theorized to extend the amount of time that a memory is held in the episodic system.

Generalized event representations assist the reconstruction of autobiographical memories and memories that are consistent with existing schema knowledge will be easier to recall accurately (Bauer & Mandler, 1990; Fivush et al. , 1984). However, a disadvantage lies with the bias toward schema consistent knowledge, in that data inconsistent with schematic expectations will contribute to inaccuracies and distortions in recall (Linton, 1982). The tendency is for the system to make errors of omission, but there is also the addition of new information and the distortion of original material. Increased familiarity with events is associated with an increase in the

recollection of general knowledge and a decrease in the recollection of episodic information (Fivush 1984; Hudson & Nelson, 1986; Myles-Worsley, Cromer, & Dodd, 1986).

Memory is closely tied up with the manner in which an individual organizes experience in general, and with his or her knowledge about the experience being remembered. Since new knowledge is actively integrated into the existing knowledge structures, what the new information is being assimilated into will determine what and how an individual remembers.

In this view, memory is a dynamic, constructive process by which the memory is built at the time of remembering and is guided by pre-existing schemas which were partially developed or elaborated at the time of the original experience. Information can be transformed during any retrieval of that event or by temporal or structural changes in the schema to which the event is being assimilated (Paris & Lindauer, 1977).

Basic ways of structuring, representing and interpreting reality are considered to be consistent from early childhood into adulthood (Bauer & Mandler, 1990; Engel, 1986; Hudson, 1990a, 1990b). The schematic organizing structures that characterize adult memory are also apparent in the recollections of three year old children (Fivush et al. , 1984; Hudson, 1986; Miller & Sperry, 1988; Nelson, 1990) and the earliest age at which temporal and causal relationships of an event are understood has been extended to 16 months (Bauer & Mandler, 1990). In Nelson's studies (1986), adults and children were presented with stories of familiar acts which were out of order,

for example, eating at a restaurant where the bill is served before the customers are served their meal. Both adults and children recalled the events in their canonical order and, although the children's responses were more skeletal, the basic script components were present (Hudson & Nelson, 1983; Mandler, 1984). Older children reported events that are more elaborate and complex than those of younger children (Farrar & Goodman, 1990; Fivush & Hamond, 1989, 1990; Nelson & Gruendel, 1981; Price & Goodman, 1990). These findings suggest that very young children's memories are highly organized, and not jumbled or fragmented.

Children's Memory

The classic view of young children is that they are very poor at remembering. Laboratory studies show clear evidence that children's ability for memory skills such as rehearsal, use of mental imagery and semantic organization increase steadily with age (Brown, Bransford, Ferrard & Campione, 1983). Even as late as 1975 it was widely accepted that young children's memories were jumbled and fragmented (Nelson, 1990). When memory was conceived of as the storage and retrieval of information, it was hypothesized that children had less sophisticated memory capabilities than adults (Brown & DeLoache, 1978) and that a child's knowledge grew as the associations between stimulus and response accumulated.

Recent research has shown that when children work within contexts meaningful to them, such as real life events, they exhibit advanced cognitive and memory skills (Fivush et al. , 1984). These results contrast sharply with

research showing childrens' limited ability to retrieve specific information in laboratory tasks. In general, the picture emerging is that children often perform poorly in unfamiliar situations or where complex reasoning is required, but they perform as well as adults do in tasks with fewer demands or more familiar stimuli (Perlmutter, 1986).

Children are able to recall autobiographical events over long periods of time (Gold & Neisser, 1980; Hudson & Fivush, 1991; Sheingold & Tenney, 1982). Some researchers have found that even two-and-a-half year- old children are able to recall special one time events from six months prior (Fivush, 1984; Fivush, Gray & Fromhoff, 1987).

Miller and Sperry (1988) observed 5 working class children and their mothers, when the children were aged 2.0 to 2.6 years, and found that by age 2.6 years the children told stories of past personal experiences. The children talked primarily about negative past events, particularly events of physical harm, suggesting that the emotional significance of the experienced event was paramount.

Fivush & Hamond (1990) had mothers engage their two and a half year old children in a conversation about novel past events such as vacations, birthdays and airplane rides. Six weeks later an experimenter interviewed the child based on a list of events generated from the first conversation. Surprisingly, the children recalled more information on the second interview, and 76% of the information was new and different information than had been generated in the first interview. The information was

categorized into activities, objects, persons, locations and attributes. Children recalled more in the categories of activities and objects than any of the other categories. In a third interview 14 months later, when the children were almost 4 years old, the same pattern of category recall prevailed; they remembered as much information, although 74% of the information recalled had not been reported in either of the two previous sessions. The four year old children reported significantly more distinctive (as opposed to typical) information than they had at the time of the second interview. These findings suggest a developmental shift with age toward reporting more distinct aspects of novel events, and children were reporting different information over time. The results support the notion that novel events are understood in terms of more familiar routines and extend the thinking that younger children focus on routines and older children focus on deviations from routines, and that these developmental shifts may account for more accessibility of memories from the later preschool years.

Todd and Perlmutter (1980) studied 12 children aged 35-50 months of age during play sessions in their own homes. They found that the children talked about events in different ways. Recurrent events often combined information from a number of different events without any indication of separateness. Children utilized the present tense verb form, with no particular point in time when recalling a generalized or script memory. Specific events were marked by use of the past tense. When discussing specific events, the majority of the information was about what occurred

(27%), and people (21%). In the "what occurred" category, 60% of the information described actions. The other information concerned details, objects and locations. Nelson (1986) has found similar results and , in addition, notes that children often use the general term "you" when referring to a generalized account, whereas they were more likely to use the more specific "I" when recalling a specific episode.

The examination of adolescents' recollections of preschool is rare in the literature. Dudycha and Dudycha (1933b) examined adolescents' memories of a preschool experience. College students were requested to write accounts of the earliest childhood experiences they were able to recall, and to establish, as closely as possible, dates for these memories. The authors were interested in the nature of emotions accompanying these recollections. Two hundred memories were selected from the age range of 1.5 to 5.0 years, with an average age of 3.85 years. The findings noted that the adolescents' memories were incidents involving emotions, and that the primary emotion expressed was fear (39.5% of the 200 memories studied). The second most prevalent emotion was joy (24% of the total), and anger ranked third with 8.5% of the memories.

Fivush et al. (1984) interviewed preschool children (mean age 5.6) three different times: two weeks prior to a trip to a museum; immediately following the trip; and one year later. The interviews prior to the trip probed for general knowledge about field trips to museums, those occurring immediately after the trip asked half of the children specific information

about what had happened on the trip, and the other half of the children were not asked for their recollections. Six weeks later the groups were again asked for either specific or general information, based on which group they had been in. Everyone was asked for specific information at the time of the one year follow-up. The researchers noted that the children responded differently in terms of the general or specific questions, and that the memories remained accurate, even a year after the occurrence of the field trip.

Hudson and Fivush (1991) reported on a follow-up study of these 18 sixth graders for the unusual class trip taken when they were in kindergarten. None of the children spontaneously remembered the trip, but 87% of the children retrieved memories when probes were given or when they viewed photographs taken at the field trip. The event, therefore, decreased in accessibility over the years, but there was no decrease in accuracy of stimulated recall over a period of 6 years. Recall of autobiographical memories appeared to be dependent upon a cueing process. Even with specific cues, however, events were not recalled in their entirety, and recall was marked by more constructive and inferential remembering as the children became older.

Gold and Neisser (1980) found that fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh grade children accurately remembered kindergarten experiences when compared to their kindergarten teacher's record of activities. All children had been taught by the same teacher, who had kept extensive class plans for all of the relevant years. The researchers were able to compare the childrens' memories with those in the detailed lesson plans. Overall, results showed

that few kindergarten activities were remembered and that most were forgotten by the fifth grade. Those remembered in the fifth grade were also remembered in the eleventh grade.

Imagery and Memory

Research suggests that cues are critical to the recall of autobiographical memories (Hudson & Fivush, 1991). In a review of imagery research, Sheikh (1983) identified the attributes of imagery. "Images make it possible for us to preserve an emotional attitude towards absent objects" (p. 393), and can therefore provide access to memories occurring early in life, even before the predominance of language.

Each person's imagery varies significantly, including not only visual images, but also the sensations of hearing, smell, touch, taste, and movement (Zahourek, 1988). Since imagery is composed of memory fragments from actual experiences, stories, and legends, it is believed to access deep personal meaning (Samuels & Samuels, 1977). Imagery is believed to be an integral part of thinking, remembering, and processing new information, as well as creativity and invention. Individuals utilize imagery to construct personal models of reality which they use to guide behaviour and describe the world around them, and to shape and continually modify internal images of self (Zahourek, 1988).

Interviewing and the Ecological Perspective

A common belief about interviewing assumes the relative stability and simplicity of the interview process. Asking questions and giving answers is a

common event in our lives; however, the analysis of ordinary conversations often shows " . . . little depth and much miscommunication" (Patton, 1987, p. 108). Many researchers believe it is more accurate to think of the interview as a complex and interdependent speech event (Mishler, 1986; Garbarino & Stott, 1989), and as a creative process in itself. It is clear that children give better information to some adults than to others, or perform better in one place than in another place and time. In fact, all of our answers are influenced by who is asking the question, and how the question is asked (Mishler, 1986).

Taking an ecological perspective of child development is to view the interview in a similar context (Garbarino & Stott, 1989). From this perspective, the role of the adult is considered to influence how competent the child will appear to be. The purpose of interviewing is to enter another person's perspective (Patton, 1987, 1990). Many researchers believe it important to seek situations that maximize the child's opportunity to express his/her competence in his/her own terms (Garbarino & Stott, 1989). Mishler (1986) proposes that a critical aim of interviewing is to empower the participants by making interviews less alienating and encouraging them to " . . . find and speak in their own voice(s)" (p. 118).

Summary and Implications for the Present Study

The literature review indicates a growing body of research aimed at increasing our understanding of the individual's personal conception of memory, day care experience, and early recollections from the inner

perspective of the participant. Although there is a substantial literature on memory skills and abilities, very little is known of how young adolescents remember personal events from the past. Although there are several studies of preschoolers' current perceptions of their day care environments, there is no known study of children's recollections of their early day care experiences. It is evident that there are many gaps in current knowledge and it appears that an exploration of the experiences of adolescents ten years later is worthy of investigation.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Background Information to the Present Study

This study represents one portion of the Victoria Day Care Research Project Follow-up study (VDCRP Follow-up) of day care in Victoria, British Columbia (Pence & Goelman, 1991). The original Victoria Day Care Research Project (VDCRP) (Pence & Goelman, 1982) utilized an ecological orientation (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to the study of day care, the unit of interest being the parent-child-care provider interaction in three day care arrangements: centre based day care, licensed family day care homes, and unlicensed family day care homes. In this study, the following codes are used to refer to the various day care subgroups: centre day cares = CDC; licensed family day care homes = LFDC; unlicensed family day care homes = UFDC.

In 1983 and 1984, 125 parent-child-care provider triads were studied. The children were 2.5 to 5 years of age, had been in day care for 25 or more hours per week, had been in that setting for the previous six months, and were first born children in their families. The sample was evenly distributed between male children ($\underline{n} = 62$), female children ($\underline{n} = 64$), one-parent families ($\underline{n} = 65$) and two-parent families ($\underline{n} = 61$). The participants within each type of care were as follows: CDC, $\underline{n} = 54$; LFDC, $\underline{n} = 39$; UFDC, $\underline{n} = 33$. In the VDCRP study (Pence & Goelman, 1982) the following data were collected:

1. Parental Background Information was collected in a one hour structured interview. These data were related to day care history, research required to

find day care services, present day care arrangement, parental perception of the caretaker, parental opinions about working mothers, parent satisfaction with day care arrangement, child management situations, and personal job history .

2. Care Provider Background Information was collected in a one hour structured interview. These data related to the care provider's history, supply of and/or search for children, perception of the parent and child, perception of the day care environment and the child, satisfaction with the day care arrangement, child management situations, care provider's family background, work history and health .

3. Day Care Site Quality was assessed using three instruments. The site quality of the two family day care groups (LFDC and UFDC) was assessed using *The Day Care Home Environment Rating Scale* (DCHERS) (Harms, Clifford & Paden-Belken, 1983), and the site quality of the day care centres (CDC) was assessed using *The Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale* (ECERS) (Harms & Clifford, 1980).

A third measure of observing and recording interactions in the day care environment was a *Child Observation Form* (COF) (Goelman, 1983) consisting of a time and event sampling of the child's interactions in the day care setting.

4. Receptive Language abilities were measured by the *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised* (PPVT) (Dunn & Dunn, 1979).

5. Expressive Vocabulary was assessed through use of *The Expressive One-*

Word Picture Vocabulary Test (EOWPVT) (Gardner, 1979).

6. Problem Solving and Interpersonal Relationship Skills were measured with a non-standardized adaptation of the *Preschool Interpersonal Problem-Solving Scale* (PIPS) (Shure & Spivak, 1974).

The methods and results of the VDCRP have been reported in a series of articles (Goelman, 1986, 1988; Goelman & Pence, 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1988; Pence, 1983; Pence, Charlesworth & Goelman, 1986; Pence & Early, 1988; Pence & Goelman, 1982, 1985, 1986, 1987a, 1987b).

Measures Used in the VDCRP Follow-up Study

The VDCRP Follow-up study (Pence & Goelman, 1991), of which this research was a part, included the following data collection:

1. Family Background Information regarding family structure and income, parental work history, child's day care history, parental satisfaction with child care arrangements, child's school history and parental satisfaction in this regard, was obtained through a parent questionnaire.
2. The Adolescents' Academic Achievement was measured using the reading comprehension and math subtests of the *Canada Quick Individual Educational Test* (QUIET) (Wormeli & Carter, 1990).
3. The Adolescents' Cognitive Abilities were assessed using an abbreviated version of the 4th edition of the *Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale* (SB-V1) (Thorndike, Hagen & Sattler, 1986).
4. A Parental Report on Adolescents' Behaviour was obtained using the *Behaviour Dimensions Rating Scale* (BDRS) (Bullock & Wilson, 1989).

5. The Adolescents' Self Concept was measured with the *Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale* (Piers & Harris, 1964).
6. Receptive Language was measured by the *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test* (PPVT) (Dunn & Dunn, 1979).
7. Teacher Ratings of the adolescents' school behaviour and achievement were completed with brief ratings of academic and social performance.
8. Adolescents' Recollections of their day care experiences were elicited by means of a semi-structured interview, which requested three types of recollections: activities and memorable experiences in general, vivid memories of his or her care provider, and general and memorable experiences with his or her peers at day care. The interview also included questions to elicit the participants' current day care views. Data from these interviews were used for the purposes of this thesis. The individual interview was preceded by a group activity utilizing imagery. The group activity transcript is presented in full in Appendix A, the interview script is presented in Appendix B, and the interview form is presented in Appendix C.

Present Study

The present study was descriptive in nature. The focus was on the recollections the adolescent participants reported of their early day care environment. Patterns of responses were investigated to determine if there were relationships between these themes and the variables of gender, age, and types of day care. The data for this thesis consisted of the following sources of information:

1. Data from the youth interview described in number eight above.
2. Descriptive data from the original study detailing the type of day care and the age of the participants.
3. The duration of time spent in the day care setting and the number of day care arrangements was taken from the parent questionnaire.

In this present study, the individuals' personal meaning and experience were of primary concern, and since the interview was designed to provide an opportunity for the adolescents to report as rich a description as possible of his or her preschool daycare experience, a qualitative methodology was chosen for the interview and the data reduction. Qualitative approaches are especially well-suited to areas of inquiry in which relatively little is known, and where the researchers want those participants being studied to speak for themselves. Qualitative methodologies allow for a richness and depth of information and detail. Instead of predicting, controlling, and explaining a quantitative relationship, qualitative research acknowledges, describes, explores, and illuminates the significance of an individual's experience. Qualitative research methods are not used to test precise research hypotheses, and no prior assumptions are made about the relationships among variables. The important dimensions and their interrelationships are allowed to emerge from the data. The emphasis is on the task of deriving and checking out working hypotheses "grounded" in the data rather than utilizing the data to test hypothesis from a prior theory (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Patton, 1987, 1990; Strauss, 1987).

Adaptations of Grounded Theory (Strauss, 1987) and the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan, 1954; Woolsey, 1986) were utilized for the data collection and analysis, as well as writings on naturalistic research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Patton, 1987, 1990; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

A semi-structured, informal interview was selected rather than a more formal questionnaire, as it allowed for a conversational relationship (Van Manen, 1990) in order to develop trust and rapport at an early stage and to keep the youth interested in the project. The researcher's aim was to observe and participate in a relaxed way, trying to lead the conversation only where appropriate, and to attempt to maximize the ecological validity of the interview. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) emphasize that ". . . . the hallmark of in-depth qualitative interviewing is learning about what is important in the minds of informants: *their* meanings, perspectives, and definitions; how they view, categorize, and experience the world" (p. 88).

Since research indicates that cueing is important in children's recollection of past events, and that imagery is helpful in this regard, prior to the interviews, a group activity utilizing imagery was included.

Participants in the VDCRP Follow-up Study

The VDCRP Follow-up study involved the participation of 60 early adolescent youth from the original VDCRP study whose families volunteered to participate in the follow-up study. The adolescents' ages ranged from 11.5 to 14.5 years with a mean age of 13.1 years, and a median age of 13.4 years. The participants were divided by gender (male = 28;

female = 32), by the daycare they had attended in 1983-84 (CDC = 26; LFDC = 17; UFDC = 17), and by one-parent or two-parent family structure at the time of the original study (one-parent families = 31; two-parent families = 28). All participants were from Victoria, British Columbia, or the surrounding area.

The data describing this group are presented in Table I. The highest percentage of participants was from the centre day care environment, while the percentage of participants from the licensed family day care homes and the unlicensed family day care homes was equal. A chi-square analysis indicated no statistically significant difference among the proportions of males and females in the three types of day care and the total proportion of male and female participants in the study $\chi^2(2, N = 60) = 1.42, p < .49$.

Procedures

A research assistant from the School of Child and Youth Care, University of Victoria, located 78 of the original 125 VDCRP participants through school records. Forty-seven of the original participants were no longer residing within the Victoria area. The families were recruited by a letter sent home in January, 1993. The letter briefly described the project, informed the family of the expected time involvement, and of the \$20.00 token of appreciation for their participation.

The research assistant contacted each family by telephone within two to three weeks of their having received the letter. At this time, the nature and purpose of the study were explained and the parents were asked if they were interested in participating in the study. Of the 78 families contacted, 18

Table 1.

Number and Percentages of Participants in the Present Study by Gender and Type of Day Care.

Type of Day Care	Total <u>N</u>	Gender	
		Male <u>n</u> %	Female <u>n</u> %
CDC	26	14 (46.2)	12 (53.8)
LFDC	17	6 (64.7)	11 (35.3)
UFDC	17	8 (52.9)	9 (47.1)
Total	60	28 (53.3)	32 (46.7)

families declined or were unable to participate in the study. Sixty families agreed to participate in the study and they were given the choice of an interview date on weekend or evening sessions. For those families unable to attend the university, special arrangements were made to conduct the research in their homes at convenient times.

Overall, this study contained 48% of the original VDCRP participants. Table 2 shows the proportion of participants from the original VDCRP study in the present research. The overall percentages of male and female participants were fairly evenly divided; however, there was a somewhat smaller percentage of male participants from the licensed family day care homes, than from the other two types of day care.

The interviews took place between February 13, 1993 and June 8, 1993 in the School of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria. Care was taken to ensure quiet and privacy for each working area.

The adolescents and their parents were invited to meet with the researchers in small groups (typically three to six families in each group). On arrival, this researcher and two other researchers involved in the study welcomed the families, introduced themselves, and expressed appreciation for the family's willingness to participate in the study. The purpose and intent of the research was clearly stated and each family received a schedule sheet. The structure of the session was explained and any queries or questions answered. The participants were informed of the purpose of the study, that their participation was voluntary, and that all

Table 2

Number and Percentages of Participants from the VDCRP Study and in the Present Study by Gender and Type of Day Care

Day Care Type	Gender					
	Male			Female		
	VDCRP Study	Present Study	%	VDCRP Study	Present Study	%
CDC	28	14	50	26	12	46
LFDC	16	6	38	22	11	50
UFDC	17	8	47	16	9	56
Total	61	28	45	64	32	50

information would be treated confidentially. The parents were then asked to sign a consent form.

The group of young people accompanied this researcher to a second interview room, while the parent or parents completed the parent questionnaire. The second interview room contained several tables and chairs. The participants were thanked again, and a brief overview of activities specific to the adolescents was explained. The participants were told that there were no right or wrong answers in the upcoming interviews, and that the research was focused on knowing what was important to them about their preschool day care experiences. A group activity was then conducted.

The purpose of the group activity was to introduce the way different people remember information, to relax the participants, and to "prime" their memories utilizing imagery to evoke the rich contextual cues associated with a past environment: the sights, sounds, smells, taste, feelings and thoughts. The participants were told that each individual remembers in different ways, with different sensory modalities, and in varying amounts. It was stressed that there was no one right way to remember, and that their own way of remembering was unique. The participants were told that they would spend the next eight minutes recalling their early day care experiences and capturing brief key ideas on paper using coloured pens. The researcher explained that they would begin with a red pen, but that every two minutes the pen would be exchanged for a different coloured pen in order to determine which memories they had thought of first. The colours used were red, green, pink

and black, respectively. The group activity script is presented in full in Appendix A.

After completion of this procedure, permission was requested to collect the papers, the participants were thanked for their participation, and the researcher expressed enthusiasm about meeting individually with each participant at a future point that day. The participants were escorted to their respective locations, and introduced to the researchers who had been hired to conduct the battery of tests.

During the course of this session, this researcher met with each participant in turn for an individual interview. At each interview the researcher requested permission from the participant to audio tape the interview along with hand recording as much data as possible during the interview.

First, the participants were asked to recall as many day care situations as they could remember, and to identify, if possible, the "target" day care situation. The "target" day care will be used in this research to refer to the day care arrangement investigated in the original VDCRP study (Pence & Goelman, 1982). The participants were asked to mark each day care situation on a time line 20 cm. in length situated on the left side of one of the second interview sheet. On the top end of the line the words *Very, very young* were written; on the bottom end of the line the word *Kindergarten* was written. To assist the researcher in identifying the "target" day care situation, records from the original study had previously been searched for the following

information: (a) care provider's name, (b) day care centre name, (c) name of the participant's best friends, as self reported in the original study, and (d) name of the participant's day care playmates as self reported in the original study. Much of the information that the participants had written on the papers during the group activity corresponded to this information and helped to provide identification of the "target" day care. The researcher utilized these cues but made it clear to the participants that no other information was known. Previous research has indicated that children provide less information if they believe an adult knows what transpired in an event (Fivush et al. , 1987).

The purpose of the interview was to explore as thoroughly as possible memorable aspects of the individual's memory of his or her experiences in the "target" day care. If the "target" day care was not recollected at all, a well remembered day care was selected by the participant and the questions were answered with respect to that day care. If only a few memories were recollected, the questions were asked in relation to the "target" day care, and then the questions were asked again a second time for a well remembered day care selected by the participant.

When participants responded to a question, their responses were probed by a request for specificity, since the same answer often held different meanings for different individuals. If a participant produced a general, rather than a specific recollection, his or her answer was acknowledged and recorded and the individual was asked if he or she was also able to recall a specific

incident that stood out in his or her mind.

At the end of the interview, the researcher went through the paper produced during the group activity session to determine if any information had been overlooked. At this time, any additional recollections referred to on the paper, but not covered during the interview, were elicited. If the participant referred to the paper during the interview, the incidents were discussed at that time.

The time required for each youth to complete the total VDCRP Follow-up data collection varied between three and a half and four hours. The group session required twenty minutes, the individual interviews lasted approximately thirty to forty-five minutes, and the other tests took between two and two and a half hours. Despite the length of the sessions, the attitudes adopted by the parents and the adolescents appeared very positive. In several cases, completion of the total data collection was not possible due to time constraints or fatigue. In these cases the remaining portion of either the testing or the interviewing portion was rescheduled for a time convenient for the family, and usually completed at the family home. Fifty-one interviews were conducted at the university, and nine interviews were conducted in family homes.

After the first session, during which six interviews were conducted, several minor adaptations were made to the interview schedule. One question provided little significant information without lengthy explanation, and was subsequently dropped. This particular question requested

information on family stories that the adolescents had been told about their day care experience. The second change involved switching the order of two interview questions for easier flow of the interview.

Data Analysis

The interview data for analysis consisted solely of the responses to the following question, which appeared as number four in the interview:

Let's talk about the time before you went to school, when your parents were at work, or at school for quite a few hours each day. Because they had to have somebody to help take care of you, you were in a day care situation. I'd like you to describe one particular time when you were in day care, a time that really stands out in your mind, and says something about what was important for you.

At this point in the interview, the "target" day care had been clearly identified and the participants understood it was this specific day care under investigation.

The data were labelled and organized, and an index of data established. Each file had originally been assigned a file number and these identification numbers were retained in this present study.

This researcher transcribed the responses to this question for all sixty tapes. All episodes of talk referring to the past formed the data for analysis. The open-ended data from the interviews underwent analysis with two objectives in mind. The first objective was to qualitatively identify emerging

patterns and themes, and the second objective was to identify significant relationships between the themes and the variables of age, gender, and day care situation.

The transcripts were read to determine an overall feeling for the information being described or embodied in the data. The researcher asked herself, "What categories, concepts, or labels are needed to account for the important aspects of this individual's recollection?" When an appropriate label was identified, it was recorded in the transcript margin. Obvious repetitions and redundancies were categorized only once, but each statement usually generated several categories. Fifty-two categories were identified during this process.

The next step was to list the categories and to take them back to the transcriptions to see if each category held true for each case. Categories and sub categories were determined and a statement or description was formulated to serve as a basis for inclusion or exclusion in each category or sub-category.

As a reliability check on the analysis of the data, a colleague serving as an independent judge reassigned 25% of the incidents into categories to establish interrater reliability. The judge was trained by explaining the rationale for inclusion and exclusion, and by working through a number of sample transcripts together. The degree of agreement between the researcher's and the judge's assignment of responses to major categories was 94%. The degree of agreement when positive, neutral, or negative tones of responses were

considered was 87%. Responses causing divergent opinions were jointly reclassified after discussion.

The characteristics of the group of participants were analyzed to determine if there was variation among the individuals, and each major category was analyzed for a relationship to the variables of gender, and type of day care. The data was entered into a data base for the analysis with coding for the categories, gender, type of day care, and age at the time of the "target" day care. Database files were analyzed using an SPSS program. The principal analytic methods used in this research involved straightforward comparisons of differences between groups using chi-square and one way analysis of variance.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the results of the procedure described in the previous chapter will be presented in three sections: (a) the participants, (b) the content of the categories, and (c) analysis of the themes by gender and type of day care.

The Participants

Forty-four respondents, 73% of the sample group, remembered the "target" day care under investigation. This first group varied in whether or not the names of their peers and care providers were remembered; however their memories appeared to be easily accessible and they remembered a significant amount about the environment under investigation. Furthermore, these individuals exhibited a confidence in their knowledge, and were characterized by the belief that their recollections were accurate and reliable.

Eight individuals (13%) remembered only a little of the "target" day care. They exhibited confusion about details, and the names of the care providers or peers used as cues sometimes elicited more confusion than clarity. When an individual remembered only a very little of the "target" day care, she or he had subsequently chosen a well remembered day care to discuss. In contrast to the initial scanty recall of the "target" day care, most of these individuals were able to speak about the second day care with confidence, and ease.

The remaining eight youth (13%) did not recollect the "target" day care

in any way. Further, the names of the care provider or peers were not useful in cueing any memories, however, all but two of these participants were able to report memories of later day cares with apparent ease. These two participants were unable or unwilling to provide any early childhood recollections at all.

The initial analysis of this research investigated the characteristics of the three groups described above in relationship to four variables: (a) gender, (b) age at the time of care, (c) length of time in care, and (d) number of preschool day care situations as reported by the parent and the adolescents.

1. Gender. As reported in Table 3, there were similar numbers of male and female respondents remembering, remembering a little, and not remembering the "target" day care. A chi-square analysis between the amount remembered and the gender showed no significant difference in the percentages of the groups, $\chi^2(2, N = 60) = .326, p < .85$.

2. Age. The data summarizing the variation in memory of the "target" day care and the age of the participants at the time of the original study are presented in Table 4. The mean age of the eight participants remembering nothing of the "target" day care was over a full year below the mean age of the group having many memories of the "target" day care. A one way analysis of variance indicated that the group with memories of the "target" day care, and the group that had no memories, varied significantly, $F(2, 57) = 6.37, p < .0032$. While those who remembered only a little were younger, the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 3

Number and Percentages of Male and Female Participants and the Amount Recollected of the "Target" Day Care

Amount Remembered	Total Participants (N=60)	Gender			
		Male		Female	
		<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%
Remembered	44 (73.3)	21	(75)	23	(72)
Remembered a Little	8 (13.3)	4	(14)	4	(13)
Remembered Nothing	8 (13.3)	3	(11)	5	(16)

Table 4

Age of Participants at the Time of Day Care and the Amount Recollected of
The "Target" Day Care

Amount Remembered	Mean Age (months)	Range (months)	SD
Remembered	49.1	28-63	9.31
Remembered a Little	44.1	30-59	10.58
Remembered Nothing	36.5	29-51	9.04

Note. The age of each individual at the time of care was calculated by using the participant's birthdate, and a consistent date at which it was known that each individual had attended the "target" day care (December, 31, 1983).

3. Type of Day Care. The third variable investigated was the type of day care attended. These data are presented in Table 5. The greatest percentage of participants remembering the "target" day care were from the centre day care arrangements, and there were no centre day care participants remembering nothing of the day care under investigation. Of the licensed day care group, over half remembered the "target" day care, a small percentage remembered a little, and a large percentage of participants did not remember the day care being investigated. The percentage of those that did not remember was almost half of the percentage of those remembering. Across all three types of day care, those participants in licensed family day care comprised the highest percentage not remembering the target day care. Of the unlicensed day care participants, over half remembered the "target" day care, more than a quarter remembered a little, and a small percentage remembered nothing. A chi-square analysis among the three types of day care and the amount remembered indicated a significant difference, $\chi^2(4, N = 60) = 14.04, p < .007$, in that there were no centre day care participants remembering nothing of the "target" day care, and in that these individuals comprised the highest percentage of those remembering this day care.

To investigate these results further, a one way analysis of variance was conducted on the type of day care and the age at the time of the original study for all 60 participants. Results indicated that the mean age of the total centre day care group (52.9 months) was significantly different statistically, from both the unlicensed day care group (42.9 months) and the licensed family day care

Table 5.

Number and Percentages of Participants in Three Types of Day Care and the Amount Remembered of the "Target" Day Care.

Amount Remembered	Type of Day Care					
	CDC		LFDC		UFDC	
	<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%
Remembered	24	(92)	11	(65)	9	(53)
Remembered a Little	2	(8)	1	(6)	5	(29)
Remembered Nothing	0		5	(29)	3	(18)

group (43.7 months) at the .100 level, $F(2, 48) = 8.41$, $p < .0007$. These findings illustrate that the entire group of centre day care participants were older at the time of the original study than were the members of the other two day care groups, and suggest that this may be a reason for the high percentage of centre day care individuals remembering the "target" day care. Goelman (1988) noted that the centre day care group was older in the original VDCRP study due to the fact that the majority of day care centres did not accept children younger than three years of age.

4. Length of Time in Day Care. The length of time in the "target" day care was calculated by data reported by the parents and collected from the parent questionnaire. Only fifty-eight subjects were included in this analysis since data were not available for two participants. In one case the child had been in foster care and his early background was unknown, and in the second case the parent had been unable to remember the necessary information.

The mean length of time the children spent in the "target" day care, as reported by the total group of parents, was 28 months. The mean length of time in the "target" day care for the group remembering the day care was 30.9 months. The mean length of time for those participants remembering a little was 21.1 months, and the mean length of time in the "target" day care for those not remembering was 17.7 months. A one way analysis of variance indicated no significant difference between these means, $F(2, 55) = 2.48$, $p < .09$, although a trend was noted, suggesting that the longer the length of time in day care, as self reported by the parent, the greater the likelihood of

the participants being able to recollect these early memories.

5. Number of Day Care Arrangements. The fifth variable investigated in terms of its relationship to the amount recalled of the "target" day care was the number of day care situations utilized during the child's preschool years, as self reported by the parents and the adolescents. Preschool was defined as those years prior to grade one, and day care environments determined to have been utilized during the kindergarten year were included in the count. The mean number of day care arrangements reported by the total group of parents was 3. The mean number of day care arrangements reported by parents of participants remembering the "target" day care was 2.9, the mean number of day care arrangements reported by parents of those remembering a little was 3.5, and the mean number of arrangements reported by those participants not remembering the "target" day care was 2.9. A one way analysis of variance indicated no significant differences among these means, $F(2, 56) = .5285, p < .59$.

Similarly, the number of day care arrangements reported by the adolescents indicated no significant relationship with the amount remembered of the "target" day care, $F(2, 57) = .2893, p < .749$. The mean number of day care arrangements reported by the total group of adolescents was 2.2. The mean number of day care arrangements reported by those participants who remembered the "target" day care was 2.2, the mean number reported by those remembering a little was 2.5, and the mean number of arrangements as reported by those not remembering the "target" day care was

2.4. Interestingly, the adolescents reported a somewhat lower number of day care arrangements than did the parents. One explanation might be that parents were reporting day care arrangements dating back to his or her child's infancy, and which were unlikely to have been remembered by the adolescents.

Present Study. The eight participants with no recollections of the "target" day care were omitted from the present study. Another participant who provided information throughout the interview, but did not have a response to question four was also omitted from the study. For the purposes of analysis in the previous section, her data remained with the group who recalled a little of the "target" day care.

For the remainder of this study, then, fifty-one participants' recollections were analyzed for themes and patterns. The characteristics of this group of participants are summarized in Table 6. The greatest percentage of individuals in the present study were from the centre day care arrangement with the remaining participants divided nearly equally between the licensed and unlicensed family day care groups. The total numbers of male and female participants were nearly equal in all three types of day care.

Content of Recollections

It became clear upon listening to the tapes of the interviews and reading the transcripts that the experiences reported by the adolescents fell into four major categories: (a) relationships, (b) environment, (c) activities, and (d) emotions. A chart of the specific categories emerging from

Table 6

Participants in the Present Study and Percentages of Total Group by Gender and Type of Care

Type of Day Care	Total <u>n</u> %	Gender	
		Male <u>n</u> %	Female <u>n</u> %
CDC	26 (51.0)	14 (53.8)	12 (46.2)
LFDC	12 (23.5)	5 (41.7)	7 (58.3)
UFDC	13 (25.5)	6 (46.2)	7 (58.3)
Total	51 (100)	25 (49.0)	26 (51.0)

the adolescents' recollections is presented in Appendix D. These categories will first be discussed in a descriptive manner, then the numbers of individuals reporting recollections in each category will be analyzed.

Relationships

The responses in the relationship category contained references to five groups of people or situations: (a) the care provider, (b) other children in the environment, (c) family members, (d) conflictual situations, and (e) pets.

The person mentioned the most frequently was the care provider, with 46% of the total references in the relationship category, followed by references to peers (23%). The majority of responses pertaining to the care provider (51%) referred to the care provider being present or performing some action. In the case in which the husband of the care provider was mentioned as the focus of the activity he was coded as a care provider. Twenty-eight percent of the total care provider references illustrated nurturing incidents in which the care provider tended to accidents and bee stings, accompanied a child to the hospital and provided emotional support, or talked to a young boy who felt angry about being dropped off at day care by his mother. A similar percentage of care provider references (23%) pertained to recollections of being disciplined.

Specific negative references about the care provider comprised 15% of the total recollections of the care provider, and positive references totalled 11% of the total number of care provider references.

Examples of a positive care provider interaction and a disciplining care

provider recollection are listed below.

Positive care provider

And once I stuck the end off a pen up my nose and she (care provider) had to take me to the doctor to get it pulled out (laughs). It was funny. I really remember sticking that pen thing up my nose. I stuck like the little blue thing at the end of a Bick pen. I just went and stuck it up my nose and (laughs) I remember that I don't know because it was really weird. I remember she sort of got worried and tried to pull it out herself and she got it a little bit down and then I think she took me to the doctor and they pulled it out. But I remember that she was really worried because that made me worried and I was thinking, "Oh no what did I do?" But she wasn't mad or anything, so that's what I liked. I liked that she wasn't mad at me because I knew I did something wrong, I shouldn't have done that but kind of liked that she wasn't mad at me. I had completely forgotten about that!

Care provider discipline

I remember being, I don't know if it's a punishment, I kept, I think it was, um, I'd be sent to Mrs. A's, I don't know, office or something, but there'd be a bed in there and I'd have to sit on the bed for awhile until I cooled off or learned not to be so smart, or I don't know. All I remember is her desk would be right here and sitting and looking at the whole room and waiting , just waiting, for someone to open the door cause I think she'd talk to me and then she'd leave. I think, I don't know, but I remember just looking at the whole room, and I'd wait and it seemed like hours, but it wasn't, and then I'd finally get out.

Recollections of peers was the second most frequently mentioned sub-category with 23% of the total references in the relationship category.

Examples of two peer references, one rated as positive and the other rated negative, are presented below.

Positive peer reference

I remember I remember um walking home walking back to A. (day care) from gymnastics and, um my best friend's name was Trevor, and um, I remember, I remember we were walking back to A. (day care) from gymnastics and um we always had to hold hands with a partner to walk home and everything, and I remember I was just walking with Trevor and like we were all we were laughing and having fun and stuff and I remember that.

Negative peer reference

When Alison and I didn't become friends anymore because she got really mad at me because she didn't get the dress and then I didn't see her for a long time and then she went out to Oak Bay (sigh-laugh). She was in my class everybody wanted that dress and people would always fight over it and I got it and she didn't. She's selfish, she always was. We'd take turns but it was my turn and she didn't want it to be my turn. The dress was the nicest one there. I know it was white and it had lace all over the collar. It was lace all down and it was satin but it was made to fit us so it wasn't like a big dress.

References to family members gathered 20% of the reports in this category. The majority of references were to family members dropping off or picking up children, disciplining, and general reports of their presence. Many

reports described family members hurrying to the day care after the occurrence of some type of accident. Two recollections with references to family members follow:

Reference to family member

I remember I got dropped off at there and then my mom had, she was in a real rush cause she had to leave early, and I didn't really get a chance to say goodbye to her, so I was pretty mad (laughs). I remember I just stood at the window for a bit and then one of the persons that ran it came and talked to me (pause). I can't remember her I know she was pretty old though she was like 50 or 60, maybe she was only like 40 or 50, something like that.

And the other one is the termites. There was this big log, I'm not sure if it was the termites or a different kind of thing, but we were playing with the log and I had a handful of either termites or whatever it was and I was bringing then into B. (day care centre) to show everybody. Then when I was on my way I was looking at the centipedes and then someone came in, it was an adult, and so I went one way and this person went that way, then I went the other way the person went the same way, and then I looked up and it was my mom (laughs). Like I didn't know it was, I just saw these big two legs.

Of the seven references to conflictual relationships, four detailed being accidentally or purposely hurt by a peer while playing, two described watching two peers getting in trouble and being disciplined, and two referred to disputes between the parents and the care provider. An example of the latter is listed below:

Conflictual relationship

And I remember when I cracked my head open. There was an indoor slide and it was a pretty tall one and I was at the top just ready to sit down and someone at the bottom pushed, I think, and I went running and there was a wall and I banged into the wall (sigh-laugh), And I remember laughing a little bit and then I didn't really cry until I got to the hospital. I don't remember their names but this lady, who I liked a lot but I can't remember her name, (took me there) in an ambulance. They came in and bandaged up my head. Yeah my mom got kind of angry because she (care provider) made my mom pay for the ambulance and they didn't really need it.

Environment

References to the environment included descriptions of two major categories: (a) descriptions of locations and specific spots inside and outside the day care, as well as in the neighbourhood, and (b) references to specific objects such as playground equipment, toys, and items both inside or outside the day care building.

References to specific objects usually consisted of the brief mention of an object, such as the example below:

Reference to a specific object

You know the painter Picasso? That lady she had a big one in there it looked like it she was looking at you all the time and I used to be scared of it and I wouldn't look at it. She talked to me about it and she told me it looks at you but I didn't look at it.

The most commonly reported specific objects were large playground

equipment outside the day care, and references to these items comprised 39% of the total references. Twenty-six percent of the references were to specific objects inside the day care such as paintings, beds, and couches. References to toys small enough to be carried or ridden totalled 19% of the comments. The sandbox was so frequently mentioned as a favoured play object that it alone gathered 16% of the total references to specific objects.

In contrast to the references to specific objects, the references to general locations tended to be lengthy and rambling, often presented in the manner of a guided tour. What was striking was the manner in which many of the adolescents seemed to remember the layout of their environment. Despite the length of such comments, they were coded only once for each location. An example follows.

Location outside the day care

Outside her house I remember it had a balcony. I still see her house sometimes when we drive by it. And I remember looking up at the balcony and looking underneath-there was nothing underneath and there was a door on the side I think and then the backyard. The house went like this and then like that (drawing a picture) and here's the driveway and we're sitting here. And I remember looking around here to the backyard I think there was a tree, a small tree, and we were picking beans around here and I don't think there was a fence between the two houses, and think there were two windows here. And I think one time Mrs. Walker was looking down at us, me and my friend, I think her name was Emily.

It is important to note that the example above would also have been coded for references pertaining to the care provider, a peer, and to activities.

Activities

Activities were references to specific actions that the participants recalled doing. There were two major sub-categories of activities: (a) unorganized activities such as playing with toys, watching T.V. , naughty adventures, and witnessing unusual events such as accidents, and (b) organized activities deemed to have involved planning on the part of the care provider, such as nap time, snack time, field trips, special events, and arts and crafts.

Within the Unorganized Activity category the greatest number of recollections (53%) referred to playing with one or more peers. Of the 34 responses in this category, none was specifically negative and five expressed very positive feelings toward playing with peers. An example of playing with peers is described below:

Playing with peers

One time I made in the sand, I made like a tunnel, my friends and I, we made a big one and I guess I showed my dad that too and he liked it. I remember that they were all boys. I was friends with them but they got they were like getting picked up early so I was the last one to work on it. I got sand under my fingernails and then we got to destroy it. That was the best part.

The second most reported activity in this category dealt with personal injuries (19%). Twelve individuals described being stung by bees, having a

pen lid stuck up a nose, being knocked down the steps by a favorite pet dog, choking on a lifesaver, and assorted experiences of falling off swings and wagons.

Personal injury

There was a time when I went there when I was playing in this (play) house and the teachers there said not to go in the house (because of a bee nest) and a whole bunch of other kids went in so I followed them and there was a bee nest, and I got stung in the nose and they called my mom up. She had to come, she was taking a course there so she just came over and, to see me and every time I get stung by a bee or something I remember it.

The third most prevalent category was that of naughty adventures (11%). One of seven reports described aggressive behaviour toward peers, and the other six episodes illustrated children disobeying instructions or simply being naughty, as is presented in the example below:

Naughty adventures

I have a good one. I remember one day at lunch my friends and I didn't want to go outside cause they made you go out even when it was cold cause they didn't want they wanted to get fresh air I guess. And so we hid under the puppet table and we didn't come out cause we thought we'd get (laughs) in trouble. And they had to call the police and they were looking for us and they had to call our parents off work and everything and finally they found us sitting under there after a few hours. We heard them all around, we could see their feet and everything (laughs). Then I went home and my parents stayed off work for the rest of the day cause it was already

pretty late and they just grounded me so I couldn't watch TV or something. (laughs) Cause they got really scared you know they like they everyone thought we had been I don't know maybe kidnapped or something so I (laughs) thought it was really funny when I was sitting under there and just (laughs), we were laughing away (laughs).

The second main activity category was that of Organized Activities.

Within this category, participants most often described nap time (22%), field trips (20%), and special events (15%). Other references were made to art and crafts, snack and lunch times, and playing when it was thought that the care provider would have needed to make arrangements to travel to a distant playground, for example.

Of the eight references to naptimes, four were fairly neutral descriptions and four were distinctly negative. Many adolescents said they remembered this activity as very boring. Two methods of dealing with this situation are described below:

Nap time

Nap time. I could never get to sleep in the day time I'd just sit there and wait and wait and wait until she came in. She thought I was asleep I was so quiet. I'd just lie there. I couldn't do anything and all I'd do was lie there and stare at the ceiling being bored.

Nap time! Getting up and sneaking cookies with Jazzie. We'd do that all the time, get up while cause um, Gail would have a nap too. That's how she got us to sleep was that she'd go to sleep with us. That's the only way she'd get us to sleep so me, Jazzie and Ian

when she fell asleep we would go to the cupboard and get cookies. That's basically all I remember. That sort of stood out.

An example of a recollection of a field trip is illustrated below:

Field trip

I remember going swimming and going to the museum and the ice rink. We'd go for walks and once in a while the whole class would go to the beach and play by the water. (I remember) a little red car. You know one of those little pedal cars. They have a little one, you know the ones you put your pedals on, and the safety what, we went there. That's that's was probably the best thing we ever did, went to Safety Village. All that you do is, they give, you have these little cars and you have to pedal them, and then every once in awhile you switch off and you be a pedestrian for awhile and you try to run red lights or whatever, don't hit the pedestrians. That was fun.

Special events comprised 15% of the total responses in the Organized Activity category, and included special events such as celebrations for birthdays, Christmas, and Easter, or guest visits. An example follows:

Special events

I remember making Easter baskets out of those plastic strawberry containers for Easter and then Linda (care provider) was the Easter Bunny and she'd like come hopping out of the bushes in the back yard (laughs), and like everyone would be like watching and she'd come and she'd like put eggs in our the Easter baskets we'd just made and decorated and everything.

Emotions

The emotions category consisted of two main groups: (a) positive

feelings such as curiosity, adoration, happiness, feeling glad, positive feelings toward the day care in general, and (b) negative feelings such as hatred, feeling scared, boredom, feeling hungry and tired, being hurt, being mad, feelings associated with "getting in trouble", desire or wanting something badly, frustration, or a negative feeling toward the day care in general.

Within the category of emotions the predominant feelings were those associated with getting in trouble (15%), feeling scared (12.5%), and being hurt (10%). Following these, the adolescents remembered feeling happy (7.5%), enjoyment (7.5%) and the feeling of boredom (7.5 %). Listed below are several sections of transcripts which generated the first three of these categories.

Five participants recollected the mixed emotions involved with getting in trouble, a sample of which is presented below:

Getting in trouble

I remember that Heidi, she said that we were allowed to go to the park, and there was a backyard and you just opened the gate and go out and well, I guess she didn't ask or something, so when we came in she (care provider) got mad at us, and I just remember lining up to get spanked with a (laugh) wooden spoon and I was the only one that didn't (laugh) cry. Cause she was worried when she didn't know where we were and we were in a little hut and you can't really see through it so she couldn't see us. She was freaking out and we were in trouble I remember being last lining up.

There were five reports of feeling scared, and the participants reported feeling scared of the following kinds of events: a picture whose eyes followed

a young child around, seeing a car accident and worrying that his mother had also been in an accident, being curious but also scared to ask a question of a care provider, and fear of a household object. An example follows.

Feeling scared

She had this she had this uh carpet cleaner thing and it was one of those ones that you push around and it really bugged me cause I just didn't like those, it kind of scared me when I was little like, "Ahhhh!" (laughs). The electric ones did too but she didn't have one of those.

There were four reports of being hurt, which included references to crying or screaming. These responses included descriptions of being hurt when harshly disciplined, two separate incidents of being stung by a bee, and a recollection of having a finger slammed in a door. An example follows:

Being hurt

When she washed my mouth out with soap (laughs). I don't know what I'd done, I forget, but probably something, but she washed my mouth out with soap and I wasn't expecting anything like that cause my parents had never done anything like that. They don't believe in that at all, so I didn't think it was wrong or anything for her to do that... I just remember sitting up on the counter in the kitchen and then she washed it out with soap. I remember that I didn't think my parents would like that but I didn't think it was wrong so I don't think I told them. I remember I was crying though.

Enjoyment and happiness was also a prevalent theme. An example follows:

Enjoyment

Well I learned how to swing to swing by myself, well it was like the little tiny plastic swings. I just learned, well I tried to copy him and I learned how to do it and then I was teaching my friends and I showed my dad when he came to pick me up. He said it was good that I knew how. I was just happy I guess.

Analysis of the Content Themes

Content Categories and Gender

Table 7 outlines the total number of participants and the number of male and female participants reporting one or more recollections in each of the four main categories. The greatest number of participants reported one or more recollections of activities, and no gender difference was noted. In addition, many of the participants recalled one or more incidents of both relationships and environment. No significant gender difference was seen in the environment category, but a difference was noted in the number of males and females recollecting one or more references to relationships. A chi-square analysis indicated a significant difference between the number of males and females reporting recollections of relationships, $\chi^2(1, N = 51) = 7.597$, $p < .0058$. In general, emotions were reported by the fewest number of participants and talked about the least. About half of the individuals referred to specific emotions in their recollections and these were evenly split between males and females.

Table 7

The Number and Percentages of Males and Females Reporting Recollections
in Four Major Categories

Type of Memory	Participants (N=51)		Gender			
			Male		Female	
	<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%
Activities	47	(92)	23	(92)	24	(92)
Relationships	43	(84)	17	(68)*	26	(100)
Environment	42	(84)	20	(80)	22	(85)
Emotions	24	(47)	12	(48)	12	(46)

* Denotes a significantly lower percentage.

Content Categories and Type of Day Care

Table 8 shows the number and percentages of participants in each type of day care reporting one or more recollections in the four major content categories. Two statistically significant differences were found. Significantly fewer of the participants from the unlicensed family day care made one or more references to activities, $\chi^2(2, N = 51) = 12.687, p < .0018$, or to the environment, $\chi^2(2, N = 51) = 6.5638, p < .038$. The participants from the unlicensed family day care also reported a higher percentage of emotions than either of the other two day care groups, although this difference did not approach statistical significance.

Content Sub-categories and Gender

The data within the categories were organized into larger sub-categories to see if there were any trends represented in the data when looking at the variables of gender. Table 9 shows the number and percentage of male and female participants reporting one or more recollections in the various content sub-categories. There were no statistically significant relationships found. It was somewhat surprising to note that no gender differences were found in the relationship sub-categories, since there was a significant relationship found earlier between gender and the larger relationship category (Table 7). Examination of the percentages of females reporting incidents in each relationship category, except conflictual, show that, although there was no statistical significance, these percentages were consistently higher than the percentages of males reporting recollections in the various relationship sub-

Table 8

The Number and Percentage of Participants from the Three Types of Day Care Reporting Recollections in Four Major Categories

Memory	Number of Participants <u>n</u> %	Type of Day Care					
		CDC (<u>N</u> =26) <u>n</u> %		LFDC (<u>N</u> =12) <u>n</u> %		UFDC (<u>N</u> =13) <u>n</u> %	
Activities	47 (92)	26 (100)	12 (100)	9 (69)*			
Relationships	43 (84)	21 (81)	11 (92)	11 (85)			
Environment	42 (84)	22 (85)	12 (100)	8 (62)*			
Emotions	24 (47)	11 (42)	5 (42)	8 (62)			

* Denotes a significantly lower percentage.

Table 9

Number and Percentage of Total Male and Female Participants Reporting One or More Recollections in the Various Sub-categories

Categories	Sub-Categories	Total Participants (<u>N</u> =51) <u>n</u> %	Gender	
			Male (<u>N</u> =25) <u>n</u> %	Female (<u>N</u> =26) <u>n</u> %
Relationships				
	Care Provider	30 (59)	12 (48)	18 (69)
	Peer	22 (43)	9 (36)	13 (50)
	Family	16 (31)	6 (24)	10 (38)
	Conflictual	7 (14)	4 (16)	3 (12)
	Pet	5 (9)	1 (4)	4 (15)
Environment				
	Specific Object	37 (73)	19 (76)	18 (69)
	Location	27 (53)	10 (40)	17 (65)
Unorganized Activities		37 (73)	19 (76)	18 (69)
Organized Activities				
	Naptime	8 (16)	5 (20)	3 (12)
	Special Event	6 (12)	2 (8)	4 (15)
Emotions				
	Negative	21 (41)	10 (40)	11 (42)
	Positive	9 (18)	4 (16)	5 (19)

categories.

Content Sub-categories and Type of Day Care

Table 10 shows the number and percentages of individuals referring to the various sub-categories reported by individuals in three different types of day care. Chi-square analysis indicated two significant differences among the groups. Fewer of the centre day care participants made references to the care provider, $\chi^2(2, N = 51) = 5.9823, p < .05$, and more of the individuals from the licensed family day care reported references to their peers, $\chi^2(2, N = 51) = 7.3312, p < .03$. One other relationship approached statistical significance; there was a high percentage of individuals in the licensed family day care reporting incidents about naptime, and no members of the unlicensed day care group reporting nap time experiences, $\chi^2(2, N = 51) = 5.2460, p < .07$. Examining Table 10 it is apparent that more negative emotions were expressed than positive emotions by participants across all three types of care.

Summary

To summarize, 73% of the 60 participants remembered the "target" day care, 13% remembered a little of the "target" day care, and 13% of the total group did not remember the day care under investigation. There were no significant differences between the amount remembered and the length of time spent in that particular day care or the number of day care arrangements reported by either the parents or the adolescents. Although there was no statistical difference in the length of time in day care as self reported by the parent, the trend appeared to indicate that the parents of those children who

Table 10

Number and Percentage of Participants in Three Day Care Types Reporting One or More Recollections in the Various Sub-categories

Categories	Sub-Categories	Total Participants (N=51) <u>n</u> %		Type of Day Care						
				CDC		LFDC		UFDC		
				<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%	
Relationships										
	Care Provider	30	(59)	11	(42)*	9	(75)	10	(77)	
	Peer	22	(43)	10	(39)	9	(75)**	3	(23)	
	Family	16	(31)	9	(35)	2	(17)	5	(39)	
	Conflictual	7	(14)	6	(23)	1	(8)	0		
	Pet	5	(9)	1	(4)	2	(17)	2	(15)	
Environment										
	Specific Object	37	(73)	20	(77)	10	(54)	7	(83)	
	Location	27	(53)	11	(42)	9	(75)	7	(54)	
Unorganized Activities		37	(73)	19	(73)	10	(83)	8	(62)	
Organized Activities										
	Naptime	8	(16)	4	(15)	4	(33)	0		
	Special event	6	(12)	3	(12)	1	(8)	2	(15)	
Emotions										
	Negative	21	(41)	9	(35)	4	(33)	8	(62)	
	Positive	9	(18)	5	(19)	3	(25)	1	(8)	

* Denotes significantly lower percentage

** Denotes significantly higher percentage

remembered the "target" day care reported a longer length of time in that particular day care compared to those who remembered only a little. The parents of the participants who did not remember the "target" day care situation reported the shortest length of time in the "target" day care.

Significant differences were found between age at the time of care and the amount remembered of that day care situation. Those remembering were a full year older than those not remembering. There was also a significant difference found between the amount remembered and the type of day care attended. A higher percentage of centre day care participants remembered the target day care, compared to the other two types of day care, and furthermore, there were no centre day care individuals who did not remember the "target" day care. Analysis of the mean age of the groups showed that, as a total group, the centre day care participants were older than either the licensed or unlicensed family day care groups. It was suggested that the greater age of the centre day care participants might be a factor in their greater recollection of the "target" day care.

The adolescents' reports of their early day care experiences fell into four major categories: relationships, environment, activities, and emotions. These four categories of recollections were analyzed to determine if there was a relationship to the variables of gender or type of day care. There was a significant gender difference observed in the greater number of female participants reporting recollections in the relationship category. When the main relationship category was subdivided, however, no statistically

significant gender differences were noted among the sub-categories. A noteworthy observation is that, other than in the general reference to the relationship category as mentioned above, no other statistically significant gender differences were found among all of the other categories and sub-categories.

Several significant relationships were found between the general content categories and type of day care. Fewer participants from the unlicensed family day care made one or more references to activities or to the environment category. Analysis of day care and the sub-categories of activities and environment showed no significant differences, with the exception of one instance that approached statistical significance. This was the finding that no participants from the unlicensed family day care group reported any recollections of naptime, while a high percentage of the licensed family day care group mentioned nap time.

A significant difference was observed in the reports of the centre day care participants. These individuals reported fewer recollections of the care provider than did the other two groups. A significant difference was also reported in that a large proportion of the licensed family day care group mentioned peers compared to the other two groups.

Although no differences were noted between the emotion category and the variables of gender or type of day care, a trend was noted for all children to mention considerably more negative emotions than positive emotions.

One caution is in order when considering the results described above.

It should be noted that this analysis consisted of the responses to only one interview question, and it remains to be discovered whether or not the relationships detailed here are consistent with the remaining interview data.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study was concerned with the recollections reported by adolescents of their earlier day care experiences. It is noteworthy that 86% of these youngsters remembered their early day care experiences, and that 73% of the group remembered these early experiences in great detail. Of the total group, only 13% were unable to recollect the day care originally experienced. This research showed that the eight participants not remembering the "target" day care had a mean age of 3 years at the time of the original experience (see Table 3), while the forty-four participants remembering the "target" day care had a mean age of 4 years at the time of the original experience. There were however, a number of individuals able to recollect the "target" day care who were as young as 28 months at the time of the original experience. This research suggests that these adolescents exhibited different patterns of recollecting early memories than the adults discussed in the literature.

There is a substantial body of research finding that the age of earliest childhood memories recollected by adults varies from 3.1 to 3.7 years (Dudycha & Dudycha, 1933a, 1933b; Pillemer & White, 1989). Pillemer and White (1989), summarizing a large number of studies of adult's recollections of childhood memories reported a complete blockage of memories prior to age three, a few accessible memories from ages three to six, and then recall increasing significantly in the years from ages five to eight. This phenomenon

has been studied ever since Freud (1956) first noted that adults had a great deal of difficulty recalling earliest childhood memories, and introduced the term, "childhood amnesia". Theories seeking to explain this "amnesia" of early childhood events hypothesized that it was due to the repression of the emotionally traumatic events of early childhood (Freud, 1956), to neurological changes in brain structure (Spear, 1979), or to schematic reorganizations of the encoding and retrieval of information (Schachtel, 1982). Recent research, as reviewed in chapter two, contradicts the notion that "childhood amnesia" is a result of children's memories being qualitatively different from older children's or adults (Hudson, 1986, 1990a, 1990b; Hudson & Nelson, 1983; Nelson, 1990), and seeks to develop new theories to account for this phenomenon.

While adults rarely recall childhood events before the age of three, deliberate recall of a past experience over lengthy time periods has been observed in children as young as two years of age (Gold & Neisser; Hudson & Fivush, 1991; Nelson, 1988; Sheingold & Tenney, 1982). Important developmental changes appear to occur at the age that language becomes a possible medium of reinstatement of memories. Adults first provide the content and structure of conversations about the past for young children, but as experience with language and the narrative mode develops, children take more and more responsibility for narrating the event. Once a system to talk about the past has been established, it takes on a personal value in defining the self, and ". . . . replaying a memory, even without talking about it

specifically, overtly or covertly, might well reinstate it and cause it to persist" (Nelson, 1993, p. 13).

The results of this study indicate that the adolescents were recalling four major categories of experience related to their early day care environments: relationships, environment, activities, and emotions. These categories tell the "who", "where", "what" and "how" of experience, and relate to studies indicating that individuals of all ages tend to fit experience into familiar patterns (Hudson, 1990a, 1990b; Nelson, 1988), and that recollections tend to be related in a narrative manner. A wide body of literature details a special affinity between the self and narrative, so that individuals are thought of in terms of the stories they tell about themselves (Miller, Mintz, Hoogstra, Fung & Potts, 1992; Mishler, 1986; Rubin, 1986).

The finding that girls tended to report more recollections of relationships is illustrative of the recent research on female development being conducted by Gilligan and her associates (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Ward & Taylor, 1988). These authors are articulating new theoretical models of women's psychology, having found that, in studies of women, the dynamics of separation and attachment were different for women and men. They propose that interpersonal relationships are anchors of female experience.

The finding that adolescents who had been enrolled in the centre day care environment reported significantly fewer references to the care provider may be a reflection on the characteristics of centre type day care. In the original VDCRP study there were no family day care programs with numbers

greater than 6 children, and the typical number was 3 to 4 children; whereas no centre day care program enrolled fewer than 18 children with a staff of three or more (Pence & Goelman, 1987b). Furthermore, centre day care staff work in shifts which results in more changes in care providers than would be seen in family day care homes. It seems to fit that, under these circumstances, children in centre day care might interact less with the care providers, and, as a consequence, report fewer descriptions or recollections of interactions with them.

Naptime was one activity that stood out in many of the adolescent's recollections. While the responses to the one question analyzed in this research provide a glimpse as to some aspects of naptime, further analysis of the descriptions of naptime throughout the interviews would provide a broader picture. Preliminary analysis of a second interview question, specifically asking the adolescents what they had most disliked about day care, indicated that over one quarter of the individuals mentioned naptime as an activity they had most disliked about day care. The general sense of this researcher was that naptime was generally regarded by the adolescents as having been tedious, boring and unnecessary. Many reports held a tone of indignation, and strong statements of dislike over being forced to nap when they viewed no need for sleep. Bredekamp (1987) suggests one reason that naptime continues to be prevalent in day care centres, despite continual protests from youngsters, is that licensing regulations allow the child-adult ratio to rise during naptime. Further investigation of naptime as viewed

through the eyes of various aged youngsters may be warranted in order to devise guidelines more responsive to the child's actual needs for sleep. Some children may require quiet, restful activities, or a smaller adult-child ratio rather than a prescribed naptime.

In this study, when emotions were coded as to whether they were predominantly positive or negative, negative emotions comprised the largest category by far, with 21 respondents reporting negative emotions, and 9 individuals reporting positive emotions. In this study, no significant differences were found between reports of emotions and the variables of gender or type of day care. The finding that many of the episodes reported dealt with injuries and accidents, and that the majority of emotions detailed were negative may be more representative of the nature of memory as described in the literature review, than factors associated with gender or day care. In early studies of adults' memories, researchers consistently reported that 80-90% of the episodes recalled were affectively charged (Dudycha & Dudycha, 1933a, 1933b). Some studies found a predominantly positive affect associated with early memories (Dudycha & Dudycha, 1933a, 1933b), while others found predominantly negative affects associated with early memories (Miller & Sperry, 1988). Miller and Sperry (1988) when observing conversations of young children (aged 2.0 to 2.6 months) found a skewing in the negative direction with a predominance of events describing physical harm. Recent research examining memory and affect suggests that the intensity of experience may be the major factor in later recollection of an

event, rather than the positive or negative direction, and a good deal of evidence shows that autobiographical events retained over time by young children tend to be exceedingly novel or especially salient (Fivush, 1984; Fivush & Hamond, 1989; Fivush et al. , 1984; Hudson, 1990a; Hudson & Fivush, 1991; Hudson & Nelson, 1986).

Limitations of the Study

The study may be limited by the extent to which verbal reports accurately represent or assess an individual's recall. This is a critical issue pertaining to all research dealing with childrens' recollections. Much research has indicated that memory is represented in the form of images rather than verbal form (Mandler, 1990; Samuels & Samuels, 1975; Sheikh, 1983). It is entirely likely that these young people were thinking about these events with considerably more richness and depth than they were able to express.

A second issue pertinent to the cueing of memories may also be relevant to the limitations of this study. Although the researcher took pains to ask open ended questions, to utilize imagery to prime the participants' memories, and to develop trust and rapport in the interview, these cues and primers may have provided the wrong retrieval cues for some individuals (Fivush & Hamond, 1990). Photographs may have provided a considerably more effective cue, for example.

Third, it must be remembered that this research examined the responses to only one interview question, and that the patterns and themes

throughout the entire interview may or may not be similar to those found in this research.

In summary, conclusions based on this research must be generalized to the population at large with caution, and the issues emerging from the experience of these fifty-one Canadian youngsters may well be particular to these individuals alone; however, it is my hope that the analysis of their recollections and the voices of the young people themselves may offer some new insights and provoke new questions and hypotheses.

Implications for Further Research

In view of the issues that emerged as being important in this study, a number of unanswered questions that may pose interesting challenges to other researchers are suggested below:

The data from this research presented intriguing possibilities. When the responses of each individual were transcribed it became evident that there was a wide variety in the ways in which each participant answered the question. Some individuals gave short, terse responses, others elaborated at length, and many provided very evocative descriptions. Furthermore, some individuals spoke briefly, or at length, about one or two categories, while others touched on five or six different types of experiences. An exciting research possibility would be to analyze interview data for the variation in the ways that individuals talk about what they remember. A simple measure of elaboration similar to that used by Engel (1986) could be used, whereby each recollection is marked as having a core event, consisting of an action, a subject

and a place or an object, and each additional phrase adding new information is counted as an element. In this way, the main focal event of each description may be identified and the number of additional embellishments counted.

Scores as described above might be used to divide the sample into low and high elaborators, and to contrast these scores with measures of language achievement or ability. As long ago as 1933, Dudycha and Dudycha called for a investigation of the correlation between language development and childhood memories and data from studies such as this would allow for such correlations. The variety and number of memories could also be able to be correlated with the measure of intelligence, in order to determine if adequate measures of some aspects of intelligence might be collected in a more ecologically relevant manner.

Since cuing of memories has been shown to be important, the guided imagery session prior to the interviews was seen by this researcher as an important aspect of the interviewing process. In this study, considerable time was required during the initial portion of the interview to identify the "target" day care, prior to proceeding with the rest of the questions. Additionally, since the "target" day care was not identified until the beginning portion of the interview, many individuals were recollecting other, well remembered day care environments during the group imagery session. An adaptation to further research of this type would be to provide details of the day care under investigation immediately before the group imagery session.

Since the day care information varies from individual to individual, pertinent information could be written on individual sheets of paper and presented to each individual. In this way, participants would be more likely to focus on the day care under investigation during the group session. Furthermore, it would be possible to determine which participants had been unable to recollect the "target" day care, and who may not need to proceed with an indepth interview. In a study such as this, where data not pertaining to a specific day care environment was omitted from analysis, such a procedure would conserve valuable time.

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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPT FOR THE GROUP ACTIVITY

Materials Used for the Group Activity

The materials used for the activity were large pieces of paper (11"x 17") and 4 coloured pens (red, green, pink, black). Initially, each participant was given a piece of paper and a red pen. During the activity, the researcher laid a different coloured pen beside each participant every two minutes, and picked up the pen that was put down. In this way, it was possible to determine the ordering of recollection. The first colour used was red, the second green, the third pink, and the fourth black.

Group Activity Script

"We are very pleased that you and your families are participating in this Follow-up study. We are interested in what you remember about your experiences in day care when you were much younger. This study is unusual in that it is one of the few times that young people like yourselves have been asked about your preschool day care experiences. A lot of the time it is the adults that are asked for their opinions. We are interested in hearing what day care was like for you, and what was important for you about day care, from your own point of view. In the interviews that I will be conducting with you there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. For the next little while we will be working through a group exercise in which I invite you to focus on your experiences in day care, when you were young, and before you went to school. This activity will last approximately 15 minutes. After this session

you will each move to a different activity and then I'll take turns meeting individually with each one of you. During our interview together you can tell me what you remembered and all the things that you were thinking and imagining."

"The purpose of the group activity is to talk a bit about the different ways in which people remember back to when they were little, and to give you a little bit of time to start remembering back to a time before you were in school".

"Again, I'd like to say that I'm very happy that you're here today, and I'm looking forward to meeting and talking individually with each one of you. I want you to understand that you may remember a great deal, or you may remember only a little, and whatever you recall is perfectly fine with me. We have never asked young people like yourself this question before, so we don't know what you will be able to tell us."

I have found that some people remember a great deal from their early life. They can recall back to a time when they were very, very small. And some people remember these events in great detail. It is as if they are watching a movie of what happened to them, or in some cases even re-experiencing these events just as they happened. Some people hear things that happened in these events, much like a sound track from a movie. Some people recall feeling certain things, or smelling certain smells, or touching certain things. In some cases they remember very *vividly*, as if these events had just happened or were happening right now. For others, the events are not as vivid. In some cases, memories may

seem rather blurry or indistinct; in other cases, a person may recall that something happened without being able to see it in his or her mind's eye. Some people have many, many memories, even from very early in their life. Other people remember much less, and sometimes only from later on in their childhood (Adapted from Bruhn, 1984, p. 129).

"Now I'd like you to invite you to do some thinking and imagining and some drawing and writing for the next eight minutes. First of all I would like you to relax while I give you the instructions for this activity. I have a piece of paper and a pen for each one of you, which you will need in a few minutes. On your piece of paper I would like you to write or draw as much as you can of what you remember about your day care experiences when you were very young, before you went to school. You may use drawings or words, anything you like on the piece of paper. Please do not be concerned about being overly tidy, since this exercise is only meant to give us a brief outline for the interview later. Every two minutes or so I will come around to give you a different colour pen and lay it beside you. This will help me know what you were remembering first. When I do this, please put down the pen you are using and take the new pen. Work anywhere you like, on the tables, the floor, or on your seat."

"Just relax now. I would like you to allow your mind and your memory to join and to think back to a time when you were small, a time before you went to school (pause fifteen seconds). When you were a preschooler, perhaps two or three or four years old, your parents needed to

work, to go to school, or for some reason they needed some help looking after you. You may have gone to a day care or you may have gone to someone's house. When you were little you all went to some type of day care for quite a few hours each day. It may have been five hours each day, and sometimes more than five hours a day. (Pause fifteen seconds)."

"Think back to this time before you went to school, when you were in a day care experience, and notice whatever your mind and your memory present to you. Notice what you see...or hear...or smell...or feel...or taste. You may see the place where you were in day care, or you may see the adults or the children that you used to play with. You may hear the voices of different people, or hear some sounds or songs that you heard when you were younger. Perhaps you will recall a certain smell, or a taste. You may be aware of how something felt when you touched it, or how your body felt when it moving around. You may remember feeling a certain way, thinking something or wondering about some thing. You may remember really liking something, or you may remember not liking something. I'll be quiet for a bit now and allow you to notice what comes to your mind . Notice any sounds....voices....smells...tastes...colours...pictures...and any feelings (pause two minutes)."

DURING THE EIGHT MINUTE ACTIVITY THE RESEARCHER
EXCHANGES PENS EACH TWO MINUTE INTERVAL.

" I'd like you to finish up this activity now. Please feel free to continue remembering about your early day care experiences if you wish to, but the formal part of this activity is complete now. It is time to move to the next

activity on your schedule. If it is alright with you, I'll take care of your papers so that they don't get in your way. I'll keep them until you come to the interview with me, and when it is my turn to see you for the interview you can tell me what you remembered and what you were thinking and imagining.

Thank you very much for your terrific participation. I am really happy to have met each one of you and I am looking forward to talking to you during the interviews. "

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Introduction

"In this interview there are no answers that are "right" or "wrong". I am interested in hearing about your point of view about your early day care experiences. I will be writing down some of the things that you say, but in case I can not write fast enough I will be tape recording this interview so that I can go back to hear exactly what you said if I need to. All of the things that you say are confidential and will not be repeated to anyone outside of this study. We will be looking at groups of people so your comments won't be singled out. Most interviews last about 30 minutes. Does this feel comfortable for you?"

Focus Questions

Are you recalling a particular time?

What other people were there?

What happened right before this?

What happened right after this?

What were you thinking or feeling when this was happening?

What made it that way?

What was special about that for you?

Can you describe your memory for me?

What is clearest in your memory?

What is your most striking, vivid memory?

What is the most important part about that for you?

Closing

"I really appreciate your willingness to express your feelings and describe your memories. I'm impressed with the important ideas that came out of what you said. I really enjoyed meeting you, and hearing about your thoughts and memories".

APPENDIX C**INTERVIEW**

1. How many different day care situations do you remember? Let's place these day care situations on the time line.
2. Of all of these day care experiences, which one did you like the best?
3. Of all of these day care experiences, which one did you like the least?
4. Let's talk about the time before you went to school, when your parents were at work, or at school for quite a few hours each day. Because they had to have somebody to help take care of you, you were in a day care situation. I'd like you to describe one particular time when you were in day care, a time that really stands out in your mind, and says something about what was important for you.
5. Please place this memory that you have told me about on this time line.
6. I'd like you to think about the day care situation that you were in when you were about _____ or _____ years old. If I had been at _____ with you, what would I have seen you doing?
7. When you were at this day care, you were taken care of by a certain person. What do you remember about the person that looked after you when you were at day care?
8. When you were at day care, you were taken care of by _____ and she was responsible for looking after you. I'd like you to think about _____ and what you remember about her. I'd like you to describe a particular time with _____ that stands out in your mind for you.

9. When you were at day care there were some other children there at the same time. How many children do you remember being at the day care?
10. What do you remember about these other children?
11. I'd like you to think about these children at day care that were more or less the same age that you were. Think about one certain time that was important for you and stands out in your mind in some way. What was happening then?
12. What do you remember liking the best about this day care experience?
13. What was special about this for you?
14. Thinking about this day care situation, what did you dislike about it the most? Why?
15. Thinking about the day care, overall, how happy were you there?

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5
very very unhappy not happy alright happy very very happy

16. When you were little, what did you think was the reason that you were at this day care?
17. What did your parents think about this day care?
18. What was it about this day care, do you think, that made them feel that way?
19. Now that you are older and can think back on all of your day care experiences, in your opinion, what do you think was a particularly positive

thing for you about day care?

20. In your opinion, what do you think was an especially negative thing for you about day care?

21. If you were going to help someone make a decision about the best kind of day care for his or her child, what advice would you give him or her?

CATEGORIES OF REMEMBERED INFORMATION

Emotions	Environment	Relations	Activities
1. hate	20. one room/ spot	30. caregiver	Unorganized
2. scared	21. rooms inside	31. caregiver(nurturing)	40. playing alone
3. curious	22. outside daycare	32. caregiver(discipline)	41. playing one or more
4. boredom	23. neighbourhood	33. peer(mentioned but not playing)	42. personal injury
5. worried	25. Specfic object: sandbox	34. hurt by someone	43. T.V. watching
6. adoration	26. Specfic object: toys	35. family (nurturing)	45. unacceptable
7. happy	27. Specfic object: outdoors	36. family(discipline)	46. naughty/adventure
8. hungry and tired	28. Specfic object: indoors	37. family(coming or going)	47. unusual event
9. hurt	29. Specfic object: bed	38. pet/animals	Organized
11. mad		39. watching conflict	50. play alone
13. get in trouble			51. playing one or more
14. angry/upset			52. naptime
15. glad			53. special event: (birthday, guest)
16. enjoyment/excitement			54. lunchtime
17. feeling toward daycare			55. snacktime
18. desire/wanting			56. field trip(outside neighborhood)
19. frustrated			57. sleep over at daycare
			58. crafts/art

VITA

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Adams, D. (1984). Birds of the Islands, University of British Columbia: Wedge Pub.

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Guujaaw, (1984). The Cedar, University of British Columbia: Wedge.

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Williams, R. (1985). The First Totem Pole, University of British Columbia: Wedge.

Adams, D. (1987). Between The Tides, University of British Columbia: Pacific Education Press.

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Title of Thesis: Early Adolescents' Recollections of Their Preschool
Day Care Experiences.

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September 22, 1993.
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